









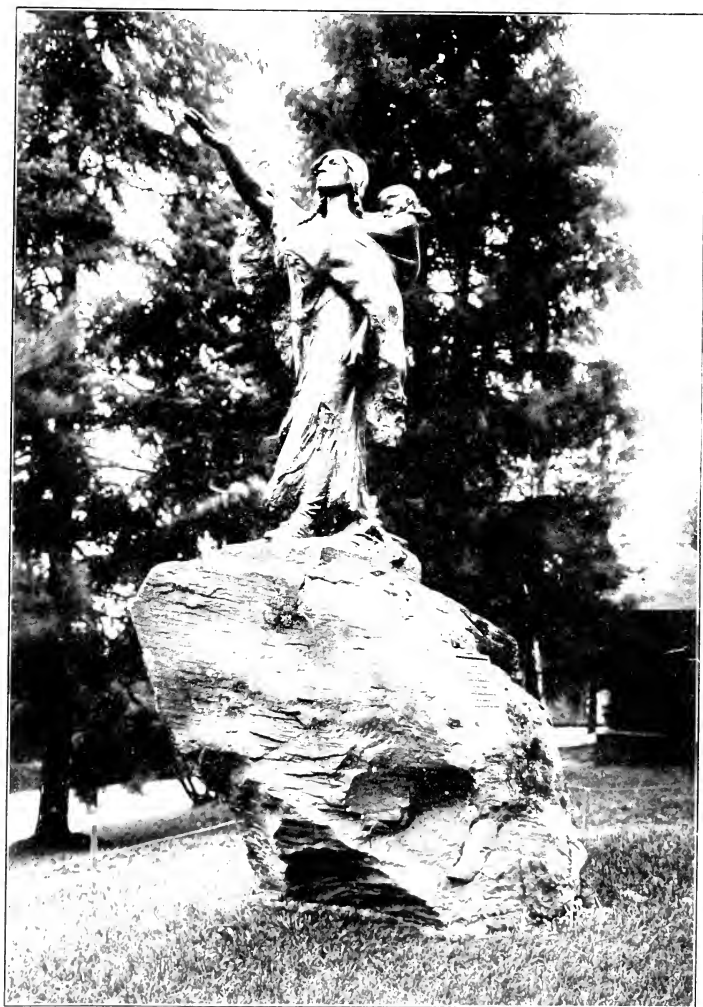
PUBLICATIONS  
OF THE  
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
OF WISCONSIN

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EDITED BY  
MILO M. QUAIFE  
SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SOCIETY

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS  
COLLECTIONS  
VOLUME XXII





SACAJAWEA

From the statue in the Portland City Park

PUBLICATIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
OF WISCONSIN  
COLLECTIONS, VOLUME XXII

THE JOURNALS OF  
CAPTAIN MERIWETHER LEWIS  
AND  
SERGEANT JOHN ORDWAY  
KEPT ON THE EXPEDITION OF WESTERN  
EXPLORATION, 1803-1806

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY  
MILO M. QUAIFE  
SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SOCIETY



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## PREFACE

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But few exploits in the annals of American exploration deserve or have received the degree of interest and attention which attaches to the expedition of Lewis and Clark across the continent in the years 1803 to 1806. Conducted in the fullest sense as a great public enterprise, it has well been called "our national epic of exploration." The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has long borne an important part in making known to their countrymen and the world the story of the immortal achievement of the two youthful captains of the expedition. To the collecting zeal of Lyman C. Draper, its first secretary, is due the preservation of the journal of Sergeant Floyd, first published under the editorship of Prof. James D. Butler, long an enthusiastic worker in the Society's ranks. Ten years later, in 1904, the original journals of the expedition were for the first time given to the world under the editorship of Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, the Society's second superintendent. Notwithstanding the veteran editor's diligent search for all of the records still extant, within the last two years further important records of the expedition have come to light, and it seems entirely fitting that they should be put before the world by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Fitting, too, is it, that descendants of Nicholas Biddle, able editor of the original narrative of the expedition, published a century ago, should enjoy a share of the responsibility for the present publication. Discovered among the family papers by Mr. Edward Biddle, a grandson of Nicholas Biddle, the records were made available for publication by the Society through the sympathetic courtesy of another grandson, Mr. Charles Biddle.

The transcription of the voluminous record a tedious and at times arduous task, has been done by Annie A. Nunns, the Society's assistant superintendent, and the labor of seeing the copy through the press has been shared by her and Lydia M. Brauer, editorial assistant on the Society's staff. The index

has been compiled by Louise P. Kellogg. To these assistants the indebtedness of the editor for faithful and efficient service, cheerfully rendered, is acknowledged.

It remains to offer a word of explanation concerning the footnotes. The attempt has been made to identify, as far as possible, the numerous camps and other places mentioned in the narrative. The liability to error in this connection is great, yet the task has been undertaken in the belief that such information is essential to an understanding, by readers, of the journals presented. Whatever degree of error may inhere in this portion of the work, the reader may be confident he has before him an accurate transcript of the original records presented, armed with which he may ignore in so far as he chooses the editorial annotation which accompanies it.

M. M. QUAIFE

Madison, Wisconsin

## Historical Introduction





## HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The problem which the Lewis and Clark expedition was sent to solve originated with the discovery of America. Columbus, the discoverer, was primarily intent on finding, not a new world, but a new way to an old one, and the accidental discovery of America constituted, in reality, the great tragedy of his career. The disappointment of the hopes of the eager Spaniards of gaining easy access to the wealth of the Indies led them to vent their wrath upon the head of the unfortunate discoverer, who died in poverty and obscurity and rests in a nameless grave.

Columbus himself heads a long line of eager explorers who sought to find a way through or around the troublesome continent which barred the way to the Indies. This goal, indeed, afforded for centuries one of the chief incitements to the exploration of America. Because of it Captain John Smith set forth from infant Jamestown upon the ascent of James River; the same quest impelled Henry Hudson in his exploration of the American coast line which resulted in giving his name to the great Hudson Bay and River. Nicolet, first of white men to visit Wisconsin, thought to find in the forest-clad wilds of the future Badger State the domicile of the subjects of distant Cathay. Before setting out from Quebec upon his hopeful quest he provided himself with "a grand robe of China damask, all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors," which he took pains to don upon arriving in the vicinity of the supposed Asiatic city on the shore of Green Bay.

The Asiatic city of Nicolet's dreams proved to be but a palisaded village of Winnebago Indian huts. Nothing daunted by repeated failures, however, other bold explorers continued the quest, the English succeeding in due time to the French. Probably the best-known effort on the part of an explorer of the latter nationality to cross the continent, prior to Lewis and Clark's expedition, was that of Jonathan Carver in 1766-67. The real father of Carver's ambitious exploring enterprise was Robert Rogers,<sup>1</sup> the famous

<sup>1</sup> On Rogers' connection with Carver's enterprise, see Allan Nevins, *Ponteach or the Savages of America. A Tragedy by Robert Rogers* (Chicago, 1914), 102-3, 119-23.

New England ranger, who was now, for a brief period, governor of the post of Mackinac. Of more immediate interest in the present connection, however, is the work of a group of traders and explorers of Spanish Louisiana, who in the last decade of the eighteenth century bravely but vainly essayed the task which Lewis and Clark ten years later successfully accomplished.

Late in the course of the Seven Years' War, when France was reeling under the blows dealt by Great Britain, decrepit Spain essayed, with more of valor than of prudence, to come to her Latin sister's aid. As might have been foreseen the tardy entrance of Spain into the war against Great Britain brought no material assistance to France, while it exposed the colonies of Spain to the assault of the omnipotent British fleet. Cuba and the Philippines fell into the hands of the English. Upon the conclusion of peace, the following year, the latter returned these possessions to Spain, but compelled her to cede Florida in exchange for Cuba. Having lost Canada and the eastern half of the vast province of Louisiana to Great Britain, the French government felt that the portion of Louisiana west of the Mississippi was of no particular value to her. With a show of generosity, therefore, this territory was ceded to Spain by way of compensating the latter power for the loss of Florida. Spain accepted the cession, not without doubt concerning its desirability, and for a generation after the Treaty of Paris of 1763 the western half of the Mississippi Valley formed a part of her colonial empire. The seat of government of Spanish Louisiana was New Orleans, while St. Louis was the executive center for the upper portion of the province.

The chief industry of St. Louis in the Spanish period was the conduct of the fur trade. "There was but one career," writes a recent careful student of Spanish Louisiana, "open to the active and ambitious young men of the time, and that was trade with the Indians."<sup>1</sup> Yet the French inhabitants who constituted the bulk of the population of Upper Louisiana, manifested for the most part far less enterprise in the prosecution of this trade than was displayed by their English rivals. In 1794, however, there was launched from St. Louis a combined trading and exploring enterprise which in scope and concept more than anticipated the expedition of Lewis and Clark.

<sup>1</sup> Walter B. Douglas, "Spanish Rule in Upper Louisiana," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1913, 81.

Several years before this one Jean Baptiste Monier had opened a trade with the Ponca tribe of Indians living along the Niobrara River in what is now northern Nebraska. His enterprise was rewarded by the Spanish government with the grant, in 1793, of the exclusive privilege of trading for a period of four years with the tribe he had discovered.<sup>1</sup> Whether or not they were inspired by this example nine St. Louis merchants now associated themselves, under the sanction of the government, as the Commercial Company for the Discovery of the Nations of the Upper Missouri.<sup>2</sup>

The proprietors of the Commercial Company had in view the accomplishment of two important and closely related objects. They hoped to build up a profitable fur trade with distant tribes of Indians, incidentally excluding the English traders from Spanish dominions; along with this they proposed to explore the Missouri to its source and "penetrate even to the South Sea." The founders anticipated that heavy initial expenses would be incurred, and serious obstacles encountered. To recompense themselves for this they asked and secured from the government the grant of exclusive trading privileges for a period of ten years with the nations they should discover. In addition a considerable financial reward at the hands of the king was made dependent upon the finding of an overland route to the Pacific. For the achievement of the latter project it was estimated a period of at least three years would be requisite. It is interesting to note, in passing, that this was practically the time actually consumed by Lewis and Clark in their exploration ten years later. The plan of operations adopted contemplated the dispatch of a preliminary expedition which was to be followed up by successive supporting ones, and the establishment of a substantial fort among the Mandan which should serve as the base of operations for the conduct

<sup>1</sup> Louis Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), II, 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> Aside from specific citations to authorities in the course of the sketch of the Company's activities which follows, resort has been had to these sources of information: Houck, *Spanish Régime*, II, *passim*; the journal of Jean Baptiste Trudeau, as printed with editorial annotation in *American Historical Review*, XIX, 299-333; *Missouri Historical Collections*, IV, 9-48; *South Dakota Historical Collections*, VII, 403-74; Frederick J. Teggart, "Notes supplementary to any edition of Lewis and Clark," in *American Historical Association, Annual Report*, 1908, I, 185-95; and a recently discovered Lewis and Clark manuscript entitled "Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal," published in *Wis. Hist. Soc., Proc.*, 1915.

of the trade and the prosecution of the work of further exploration.<sup>1</sup>

The leadership of the first expedition was entrusted to the first schoolmaster of St. Louis, Jean Baptiste Trudeau.<sup>2</sup> At first sight the selection of a pedagogue to lead such a trading and exploring expedition into the American wilderness seems unusual enough; two considerations, however, help to explain it. In order to eke out his meager income as schoolmaster Trudeau had made numerous trading excursions among the Indians, and thus was not without experience in the work to the leadership of which he was now chosen. With commendable breadth of vision the founders of the Commercial Company emphasized their desire for the increase of geographical knowledge no less than they did their hope to build up a profitable Indian trade; and the learning which qualified Trudeau to teach the village school helped to gain him the appointment. One of the founders of the Company, writing a few years later, gives this account of its inception:

Mr. Zenon Trudeau in suggesting this enterprise, explained to them, that his purpose was, at the same time, to enlighten the age, in regard to that portion of the globe, as yet so little known. To this effect he required that in pursuing this trade, those engaged in it, would pay attention to unite to the employees they might send to the country, enlightened persons, who would use every exertion to penetrate to the sources of the Missouri, and beyond if possible to the Southern Ocean \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Louise Phelps Kellogg, of the Society's research staff, for the interesting suggestion that the formation of the Commercial Company was perhaps really inspired from British sources, and that it may be regarded as an effort to accomplish by indirection the evasion of the governmental regulation excluding British traders from entering the rich territory controlled by Spain; and at the same time as an attempt on the part of one group of British traders to utilize the Spanish government in the conduct of their fierce competition with their rival fellow-countrymen for the control of the fur trade. The personnel of the Commercial Company seems to lend support to this hypothesis. The chief St. Louis traders, the Chouteaus and their connections, held aloof from the enterprise; while Clamorgan, the leader, was a partner of Andrew Todd, one of the noted Scotch family prominent in the affairs of the North West Company; and two of the chief agents in the execution of the enterprise, Mackay and Evans, were British traders schooled in the affairs of the North West Company and the methods of cutthroat competition which prevailed between the various British trading groups. If this hypothesis of British influence back of the Commercial Company is correct, the explanation of Governor Trudeau's zeal for the enterprise may easily be inferred.

<sup>2</sup> For a sketch of Trudeau's life, see *Mo. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 14-17.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Teggart in A. H. A., *Annual Report*, 1908, I, 189.

No time was lost in launching the enterprise, the preliminary expedition setting forth from St. Louis, June 7, 1794, less than a month after the completion of organization of the company. Trudeau's equipment consisted of a single large pirogue, propelled by eight oarsmen. His instructions, minutely and carefully drawn,<sup>1</sup> required him to proceed "with all possible foresight," to the Mandan nation. Upon his arrival he was to construct two log cabins fifteen by thirty feet in size, enclosed within a stockade or "fort," eighty by one hundred feet. The following year a building fifteen or sixteen feet wide and fifty feet long was to be added. The fruit and other seeds necessary for the starting of an orchard and garden were to be taken along. Other instructions pertained to the management of the men, the conduct of relations with the Indians, the keeping of a journal, and the course to be pursued in the event of meeting opposition at the hands of the natives. A supporting expedition was to leave St. Louis not later than April 15, 1795, to proceed to the Mandan and there become subject to Trudeau's orders.

The anticipations of opposition, at the hands of the tribes living below the Mandan, to the progress of the expedition, were promptly realized. Proceeding laboriously up the Missouri the party arrived, at the end of September, at the present site of Crow Creek Agency, South Dakota. Here it was detained for several days by a band of Teton Sioux, who helped themselves at pleasure to Trudeau's stock of goods, designed for trade with the nations above. This experience caused the leader to alter the plan which had been prescribed to him. Believing it impossible to convey unaided his remaining store of goods through the Sioux country, he concealed boat and goods in the vicinity and crossed by land to the Arikara village at the mouth of Cheyenne River, where he hoped to procure an escort of Arikara with which to return for the goods.

The plan miscarried, through no fault of Trudeau. When he reached the Arikara village, he found it deserted, its occupants having fled from the vicinity through fear of their enemy, the Sioux. Trudeau now determined to return to the place where the boat and goods had been concealed, and, having recovered them, to choose a spot below the Sioux nation but above the Ponca and Omaha where he might pass the winter, and be in position to renew the following spring the voyage up the Missouri.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 164-73.

A cabin was built and the winter was passed in what is now Charles Mix County, South Dakota, "in a heavy wood under a ledge of chalkstone where a little creek ran down to the river, on the north side of the Missouri."<sup>1</sup> Two other trading expeditions spent the winter of 1794-95 within communicating distance of Trudeau's cabin. One of these belonged to Monier who had been granted the monopoly of the Ponca trade, and the other to one Salomon, concerning whom little is known.

Late in March, 1795, Trudeau left his winter quarters to essay again the ascent of the Missouri to the Arikara and Mandan towns. Between the two portions of his journal as it has been preserved to us, a gap of two months intervenes, and when the second portion opens we find him at the Arikara village near Grand River. Here he was still, on July 20, 1795, when the journal abruptly closes, awaiting the arrival of the first supporting expedition from St. Louis to enable him to continue on to the Mandan. Our knowledge of Trudeau's further doings in the Indian country is but scanty. Clark notes<sup>2</sup> passing, on September 8, 1804, the house where Trudeau wintered in 1796-97. This was in Charles Mix County, South Dakota, and would indicate that Trudeau passed this winter in his old cabin of two years before.<sup>3</sup>

In the absence of further knowledge concerning Trudeau, our interest shifts to the later expeditions sent out by the Commercial Company. The first of these left St. Louis in April, 1795, according to the original plan of the year before, under the command of one Lecuyer.<sup>4</sup> Although it was placed "under the command of a leader who was to shun nothing to remove all the obstacles from a thorny and difficult route,"<sup>5</sup> Lecuyer managed affairs so badly that he was captured and detained by the Ponca who consumed almost all the goods he carried.

<sup>1</sup> *S. Dak. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 407.

<sup>2</sup> Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806* (New York, 1901-5), I, 112. Because of its frequent occurrence in the footnotes which follow, this work will be cited by the editor's name alone.

<sup>3</sup> Teggart conjectures that the date should be 1795-96 instead of a year later. *Op. cit.*, 190. I am disposed to credit the suggestion, although on different grounds than the ones given by its author. From the statements contained in "Capt. McKay's Journal," it seems improbable that Trudeau was in this region in 1796-97.

<sup>4</sup> On this second expedition, see Teggart, *op. cit.*, 190; Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 176, 253; and "Capt. McKay's Journal."

<sup>5</sup> Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 176.

In August, 1795, four months after the departure of Lecuyer, the Commercial Company dispatched its third expedition. It consisted of thirty men, with four pirogues of merchandise, one each of the latter being intended for the Arikara, the Sioux, the Mandan, and the as-yet-undiscovered nations beyond the last-named tribe.<sup>1</sup> The leader was James Mackay, a Scotchman, who before coming to St. Louis had seen much service in the English fur trade of the Northwest. Because of the lateness of the season, Mackay was expected to establish a fort and pass the first winter among the Omaha; the following season he was to continue his journey, giving orders for the construction of forts wherever necessary to protect the Spanish trade against encroachments by the English.

Mackay proceeded, agreeably to his instructions, to the Omaha country, stopping en route about the middle of October to build a house just above the mouth of the Platte River, where some of his men were left to pass the winter. This post is shown on the map of Perrin du Lac. On November 11, Mackay arrived in the vicinity of the village of the celebrated Omaha chief, Blackbird. Here, a few miles below the town of Omadi, Nebraska, he built Fort Charles, a permanent stronghold intended to be defended with cannon, which were to be sent up from St. Louis the following summer.

The winter was passed at Fort Charles in negotiating with the Indians and making preparations for the continuance of the journey. An alliance was struck with Blackbird, who promised to send out messengers during the winter to the Sioux and other tribes urging them to come to Fort Charles in the spring to see Mackay, to the end that peace might be established and the free passage of the upper Missouri might be opened "forever." Blackbird further promised to go in person to escort Mackay to the Arikara nation and to exact vengeance from the Ponca for

<sup>1</sup> Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 178. The chief additional sources of information concerning Mackay's explorations are his journal, printed in Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 181-92, and "Capt. McKay's Journal." Teggart argues plausibly that the map published in F. M. Perrin du Lac's *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes* (Lyons, 1805), which shows, among other things, Mackay's route in 1796, is in reality a reproduction of Mackay's own map (now lost) of the upper Missouri. Mackay's journal, as published by Houck, ends with the entry for Jan. 18, 1796. The recently discovered "Capt. McKay's Journal" carries the story further, and also summarizes the account of the activities, hitherto unknown, of John Evans, Mackay's subordinate.

their treatment of Lecuyer's expedition. That the wily chieftain ever had any serious intention of fulfilling his promises may well be doubted. A report made in January, 1798, by Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau,<sup>1</sup> concerning the activities of the Commercial Company characterizes Blackbird as a tyrant, "arbitrary, despotic, cruel, and implacable," in his treatment of the whites, and states that during the winter at Fort Charles Mackay used up most of his goods in placating the friendship of the Indians and subsisting his employees. The same authority indicates that Mackay remained at Fort Charles during the spring of 1796, awaiting the arrival of new reinforcements from St. Louis. Perrin du Lac's map lays down an extended tour made by Mackay in 1796, southwestward from Fort Charles along the upper Elkhorn and the north fork of Loup River, crossing thence to the Niobrara and proceeding down that stream to its mouth and from here overland to Fort Charles.<sup>2</sup>

In November, 1795, Mackay sent out a "well-accompanied detachment" under John Evans, to proceed overland to the Arikara and learn the facts concerning a reported outbreak between that tribe and the Ponca, and earlier outrages committed against the Sioux. Evans proceeded up the Missouri as far as White River. Meeting here a band of "Sioux of the Grand Detour," he beat a hasty retreat. The Indians pursued him for a distance of several leagues, when the approach of night and the state of the weather caused them to give over the chase.<sup>3</sup> The warriors had accomplished, for the time being, the defeat of the expedition, however. Fearing for their lives Evans and his followers returned to Fort Charles, where they arrived January 6, 1796.

Five months later, on June 8, 1796, Evans again set out from Fort Charles, under instructions from Mackay "to penetrate to the western or Pacific Ocean by the Missouri or by any of its Branches, if he found any coming from the West." On August 8 he reached the Arikara village, 250 leagues, by his estimate, above Fort Charles. Here for a time his plans seemed likely to be wrecked by the old obstacle, the opposition of the natives.

<sup>1</sup> Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 253.

<sup>2</sup> The journey may have been made in the reverse direction, instead of as above indicated.

<sup>3</sup> Practically all of our information concerning Evans is afforded by "Capt. McKay's Journal." The title of the document is misleading, in that it also contains extracts from Evans' journal, now lost, and comments by John Hay.



The Arikara, explaining that they were themselves in want of goods, prohibited him from carrying any to the nations above. After several weeks of enforced delay Evans persuaded his hosts to permit him to go on with a few of his goods to the Mandan village, ten leagues above. Here he arrived September 23, 1796, and was cordially received by the Mandan and by their near-by neighbors, the Minitaree and Wattasoons.

The chief reason for Evans' desire to reach the Mandan was to take possession of the fort which he had learned had been built there by the English traders from the Assiniboine River. No time was lost in convoking a council of the neighboring chiefs and gaining their allegiance by the distribution of medals and flags in the name of their "great father," the king of Spain. The way having thus been paved, on September 28 Evans took possession of the English fort, and with the joyful approval of the fickle savages hoisted over it the flag of Spain.

The bloodless conquest thus happily achieved soon gave promise of a bloody issue. Ten days after the hoisting of the Spanish flag over the fort a party of English traders arrived at the Mandan village. Because of their numbers, as compared with the strength of his own force, Evans did not at first dare to oppose them openly. He nevertheless "found a means" to hinder their trade, and after a few days was enabled to drive them from the Mandan territory. With them he sent a proclamation furnished him by Mackay, prohibiting all strangers from encroaching, under whatever pretext, upon his Catholic Majesty's dominions.

The winter passed away with Evans in triumphant control of the situation at the Mandan village. Meanwhile, however, if his own record of events may be trusted,<sup>1</sup> the Canadian traders were planning to match Spanish guile with English cunning. In March, 1797, René Jessaume arrived at the village on a mission, the knowledge of which serves to increase his already malodorous reputation.<sup>2</sup> He had been sent out by the English traders in charge of a party of engages with presents of merchandise to the Mandan and neighboring tribes, in order to break off their new-found attachment to the Spanish. The English agents urged the chiefs to enter Evans' house under the guise of friend-

<sup>1</sup> The details which follow, drawn wholly from Evans' narrative, necessarily present only his version of the situation.

<sup>2</sup> On Jessaume, who served Lewis and Clark in the capacity of interpreter, see *post*, 163, note 1.

ship and slay him and pillage his property. Some of the "inferior class" were won over by Jessaume's presents and arguments to this plot; several of the chiefs, however, spurned the proposition, and constituted themselves a guard over Evans, resolved to die, if necessary, in his defense.

This attitude on the part of the chiefs, friendly to Evans, caused those who had been won over by Jessaume to give up their design. Several days later the Frenchman, accompanied by several of his men, came to Evans' house and attempted to assassinate him by discharging a pistol at his head when his back was turned. Evans' life was saved through the prompt interference of his interpreter; a few days later Jessaume left the village, disgusted over the ill success of his "Black Designs," and returned to his employers on the Assiniboine.

Our further knowledge of Evans is but scanty. Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau reported in 1798 that a short time after taking possession of the English fort among the Mandan, Evans was compelled to return to St. Louis.<sup>1</sup> This would indicate that he ascended the Missouri no farther than the Mandan town, although the statement that he remained there but a short time is obviously incorrect. Mackay also left the Indian country in the spring of 1797.<sup>2</sup> The Commercial Company had meanwhile formed the ambitious design of establishing a line of forts from the river Platte to the Pacific Ocean, and the necessary sanction of the government for this enlarged project had been obtained. Financial disaster overtook the Company, however; the greater number of the original associates withdrew, ruined, from it, and a reorganization followed. One of the members of the reorganized Company was Loisel who about the year 1800 built a substantial fort on an island in the Missouri near the northern boundary of Lyman County, South Dakota.<sup>3</sup> In the absence of definite information it seems a fair presumption to regard Loisel's trading operations as constituting in some sense a continuance of the work of the Commercial Company for the Discovery of the Nations of the Upper Missouri.

It is apparent from what has been said concerning the activities of the Spanish on the Upper Missouri that the British traders operating from Canada had reached the vicinity of the Mandan

<sup>1</sup> Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 254.

<sup>2</sup> Teggart, *op. cit.*, 193, and "Capt. McKay's Journal."

<sup>3</sup> On Loisel and his "Fort aux Cedres," see Ordway's entry for Sept. 22, 1804.

towns, and that the Spanish government and the St. Louis traders feared and resented their encroachments. The era of British activity in this region dates from about the close of the American Revolution. For almost a century prior to the cession of Canada to Great Britain in 1763, the Hudson's Bay Company had been engaged in the fur trade in the far north. With the cession of Canada a number of daring traders, with headquarters at Montreal, penetrated the interior by way of Lake Superior and began a vigorous competition with the Hudson's Bay Company for the Indian trade. At length the great corporation, roused from its former state of inactivity, girded itself to meet the challenge. The many obstacles encountered and a sense of individual weakness induced a number of the Montreal traders to organize, in 1784, the famous North West Company. Following this there ensued, in the competition with the Hudson's Bay Company, a period of vigorous exploitation of the fur trade of the Northwest. Lines of forts were established reaching ever farther into the west and south. It has already been noted that Mackay had himself been employed in this trade. When the English traders first penetrated by way of the Assiniboine and its southern tributary the Mouse (or Souris) River to the Mandan on the upper Missouri cannot, perhaps, be definitely stated. Mackay, himself, visited the Mandan in 1787, and it seems evident that from this time on the English traders habitually resorted to them. Mackay states that in 1793-94 rival English traders were among the Mandan, engaged in a cutthroat competition for their trade, and John Hay, later of Cahokia, wintered at the English establishment on Mouse River in 1794-95. Evans was convinced that the English would spare no pains or expense to maintain a fort among the Mandan, not because of the profit to be derived from trade with the Mandan themselves, but because this was the gateway to the trade with the nations inhabiting the upper Missouri and the Rocky Mountains, a trade which was then believed to be "the best on the Continent of America."

It is quite apparent, then, even from the necessarily inadequate sketch that has been presented, that at the time the Lewis and Clark expedition was launched the design of crossing the continent of North America to the Pacific had been more than once anticipated; and that for nearly twenty years English traders from the north, and for half as long Spanish traders from St. Louis, had resorted to the Mandan Indians, among whom Lewis and Clark

spent the winter of 1804-5. As far as the Mandan nation the country was fairly well known to the St. Louis traders. Beyond the Mandan, as far as the Rocky Mountains, too, a rough idea of the geography of the country had been gained. Thus Mackay describes the general course of the Missouri from its source down. In preparation for their own exploration Lewis and Clark naturally acquired all possible advance information concerning the geography of the region they were to traverse. Nor does the knowledge we have of what their predecessors had accomplished by way of exploring the Missouri detract from the credit due the American captains. It does assist us to form a more correct conception of the nature of the credit which should properly be ascribed to them. Only in the light of the knowledge that for years the Sioux, with whom Lewis and Clark so nearly came to blows, had been in the habit of plundering the St. Louis traders at pleasure, can we estimate properly the courage, perseverance, and skill of the American captains in venturing, successfully, to defy them.

It is unnecessary here to retrace the now familiar story of the genesis of the Lewis and Clark expedition. It remains only to relate the circumstances attending the finding of the journal of Sergeant Ordway and the other records of the great exploration which are now for the first time placed at the disposal of students of American history.

Eminently successful as the expedition was in other respects, the disappointment of a hundred years' duration over the failure to make the record of the explorers' achievements and discoveries accessible to the world, has been amply justified. In addition to the voluminous records kept by the two leaders, the four subordinate officers (Sergeants Gass, Floyd, Ordway, and Pryor) and at least two of the privates (Joseph Whitehouse and Robert Frazier) are known to have kept journals. The one kept by humble Patrick Gass was published, in modified form, with commendable promptness in 1807, the year after the conclusion of the expedition. For seven years this remained the only record of the exploration accessible to the world. Meanwhile, under Jefferson's prompting, the work of preparing the official report of the expedition was begun. An accomplished young Philadelphian, Nicholas Biddle, best known perhaps for his later career as president of the second United States Bank, was entrusted with the task of editing the Lewis and Clark records.

From the mass of material submitted to him he wove a skillful narrative of 370,000 words, which was issued from the press in 1814. The editor had performed well the task assigned him and students of American history have only praise for his work. In the nature of the case, however, the scholarly world could not content itself with the knowledge of Lewis and Clark's explorations afforded by the Biddle narrative. However well done in itself, it remained only a condensed paraphrase of the original records. Moreover, while answering admirably the need for a popular narrative of the exploration, it made no attempt to present to the world the scientific fruits of the expedition, since this class of material had been assigned to another editor for separate publication. Not until a century had elapsed was a serious effort made to give to the world the original records of the expedition. Then, under the editorship of Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, late superintendent of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, a diligent effort was made to bring together, for the purpose of publication, all of the records still in existence.<sup>1</sup> The voluminous scientific data of the captains, all of the journal kept by Clark and about half of that kept by Lewis, and the fragmentary journals of Floyd and Whitehouse were thus published. Lost forever to the world, apparently, were the journals kept by Frazier, Pryor, and Ordway. With one exception the records in hand covered the entire history of the expedition from the time of its departure from the winter camp on River Dubois in May, 1804, until the return to St. Louis in September, 1806, and so the lost journals could not be expected to add materially to our knowledge of the expedition; yet its importance in American history and the widespread interest in all that pertains to it are responsible for a keen interest on the part of scholars and others in the fate of the missing journals.

Ordway's journal was known to have been purchased by Clark and sent to Biddle for his use, and was supposed to have been returned afterward to Clark. The search for it which Doctor Thwaites instituted proved fruitless, although it resulted, incidentally, in the discovery, in the possession of heirs of Clark, of a mass of important records of the two leaders of the expedition, the existence of which had been unknown to the world in general.

<sup>1</sup> Numerous editions of the journal of Gass had appeared since its first publication, and the original manuscript, moreover, had disappeared. There was no reason, therefore, for including this in the edition of the original journals.

Thus matters stood, so far as the Lewis and Clark records were concerned, until the latter part of the year 1913. Then, through the instrumentality of Charles Biddle of Philadelphia, a grandson of Nicholas Biddle, the thousands of papers accumulated by the grandfather and still in the possession of the Biddle family were turned over, for the most part, to the Library of Congress. In the course of examination of the papers Edward Biddle, another grandson of Nicholas Biddle, discovered a considerable manuscript contained within loose covers which proved, upon examination, to be the long-lost journal of Serg. John Ordway.<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 1914 the present editor was permitted, through the courtesy of Charles Biddle, to make a copy of the journal with a view to securing its ultimate publication, and to facilitate the work of copying, the manuscript was sent on to the Historical Library at Madison. Upon closer examination it seemed evident that the manuscript in hand constituted but a portion of the original journal. Contained within loose covers, the record had been kept with the greatest possible degree of regularity from the time the expedition departed from River Dubois, May 14, 1804, until the headwaters of the Columbia were reached, September 30, 1805. A variety of considerations seemed to render it unlikely that Ordway had suddenly laid down his pen and abandoned his journal at this point. A request was forwarded to Mr. Biddle, therefore, that a further search be made among the family papers for the continuation of the journal. The response came in the form of four volumes of varying size and significance, all being narrative journals, kept in the usual form of such records. Of the four records the three largest proved on examination to pertain to the Lewis and Clark expedition. Two of them were the continuation, to its conclusion, of Sergeant Ordway's journal. The third volume contained the journal, as printed in the present volume, of the river trip in the summer and autumn of 1809, first of Lewis and later of Clark, from Pittsburgh to the camp on River Dubois. More recently still (July, 1915) the manuscript entitled "Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal," which had been included among the papers sent to the Library of Congress, has been received from Mr. Biddle.

<sup>1</sup> The account of the finding of the journal, given here, corrects, in certain minor details, a note on the subject contributed by the editor to the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June, 1915. Since preparing that note a letter has been received from Charles Biddle calling attention to the error contained in it.

With the new-found records in print the reader is in position to judge for himself concerning their interest and value. Comparison with the other records of the expedition will show that in Ordway's journal we have for the first time a complete daily record of the expedition from start to finish written by one man.<sup>1</sup> For the first time, too, we have a complete journal of the expedition kept by one of the subordinates engaged in it. From the circumstances of the case not much information entirely new to us could be expected from Ordway's journal. It is worth noting in this connection, however, that it fills the one gap hitherto existing in our narrative record of the exploration, the descent of Ordway's party from the Three Forks of the Missouri to Whitebear Islands above Great Falls, Montana, July 13-19, 1806. For the doings of the party at the Falls, and the further descent of the Missouri until the reunion with Captain Lewis on July 28, 1806, Ordway affords our only record aside from the comparatively brief one kept by Sergeant Gass.

The information contained in the journal kept by Lewis (and later by Clark) of the river trip from Pittsburgh to the winter camp on River Dubois constitutes a more unique contribution to the records of the expedition. All of the regular journals, including Sergeant Ordway's, begin with the departure from River Dubois upon the expedition proper in the spring of 1804. That Lewis kept a careful journal of the preliminary trip from Pittsburgh to River Dubois has hitherto been entirely unknown to students. It is a matter of regret that entries for so large a portion of the journal are missing. The principal sources of information hitherto available concerning this portion of the great adventure are a number of letters written by Lewis at the time to Jefferson, Clark, and others.<sup>2</sup>

Aside from the portrait he has himself drawn in his journal, our knowledge of Sergeant Ordway is slight. That he was held in high estimation by Lewis and Clark is clear from their journals. He was early entrusted with the duty of keeping the rosters and the orderly book; during the absence of the two captains he was put in command of the camp at River Dubois. On a number of occasions during the expedition he was placed in charge of detachments of men for special service. After the return of the expedition he settled in the Tywappity Bottom in southeastern

<sup>1</sup> Clark's journal, while virtually complete, lacks entries for ten days, the events of which were summarized later.

<sup>2</sup> Several of these letters are published in Thwaites, VII, 263-79.

Missouri, where he quickly attained prosperity, having, within a year's time, "two plantations under good cultivation peach and apple orchards, good buildings &c &c."<sup>1</sup> Here he is supposed to have spent the remainder of his life, although the date of his death and his place of burial are unknown. It may well be believed that he continued to the end to play a man's part in the development of America's great inland empire.

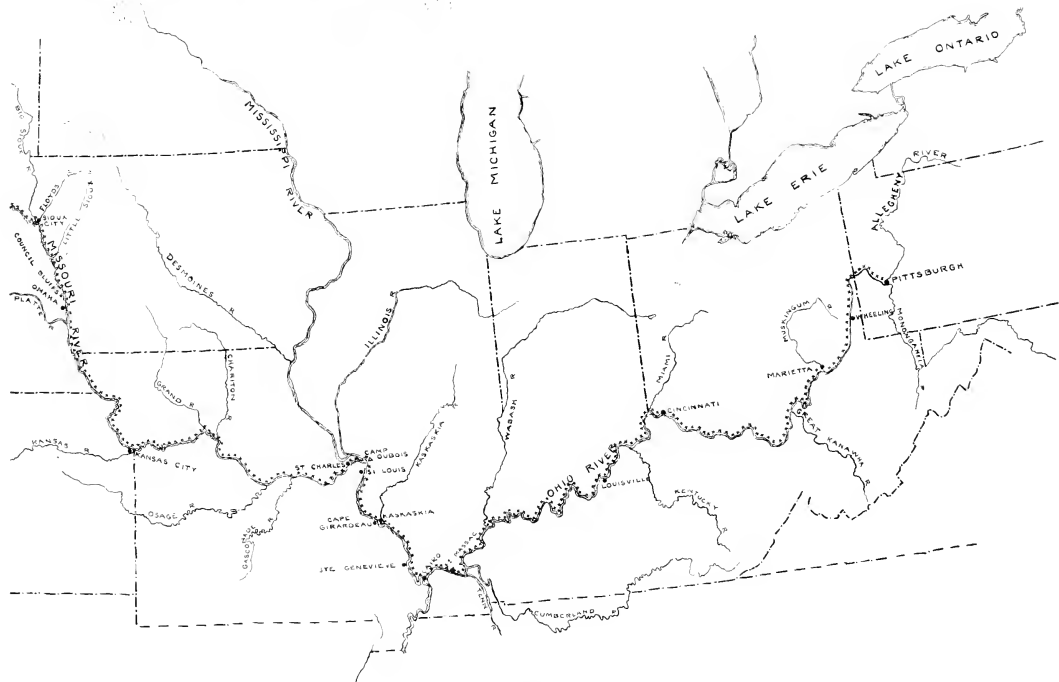
<sup>1</sup> Letter of Ordway in *Mo. Hist. Colls.*, II, 282.



## Captain Lewis' Journal







THE ROUTE OF LEWIS AND CLARK: EASTERN PORTION

## CHAPTER I

### DOWN THE OHIO, AUGUST 30—NOVEMBER 19, 1803

August 30<sup>th</sup> 1803.

Left Pittsburgh this day at 11<sup>ock</sup> with a party of 11 hands 7 of which are soldiers, a pilot and three young men on trial they having proposed to go with me throughout the voyage. Arrived at Bruno's Island<sup>1</sup> 3 miles below halted a few minutes. went on shore and being invited on by some of the gentlemen present to try my *airgun*<sup>2</sup> which I had purchased brought it on shore charged it and fired myself seven times fifty five yards with pretty good success; after which a M<sup>r</sup> Blaze Cenas being unacquainted with the management of the gun suffered her to discharge herself accedently the ball passed through the hat of a woman about 40 yards distant cutting her temple about the fourth of the diameter of the ball; shee fell instantly and the blood gus[h]ing from her temple we were all in the greatest consternation suppose[d] she was dead by [but] in a minute she revived to our enexpressable satisfaction, and by examination we found the wound by no means mortal or even dangerous; called the hands aboard and proceeded to a ripple off *M<sup>e</sup> Kee's rock*\* where we were obliged to get out all hands and lift the boat over about thirty yards; the river is extreemly low; said to be more so than it has been known

<sup>1</sup> Called Hamilton's Island in Zadoc Cramer's *Navigators* (Pittsburgh, 1811 ed.), 74; laid down on the map of the Ohio River of the corps of engineers, U. S. A., published in 1881, as Brunot's Island. This map will be cited henceforth as the U. S. A. map. The island belonged to Dr. Felix Brunot, whom Cramer characterizes as "a French gentleman of much taste in agriculture and horticulture, skilled in the practise of physick, and celebrated for his open and general hospitality to strangers and friends." Brunot was a foster-brother of Lafayette, and came to America during the Revolution to participate in the latter's enterprise in aid of the American cause. For a further account of him, and a description of his estate on Hamilton's Island see R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (Cleveland, 1904-7), IV, 93.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis' air gun, which here makes its first appearance in the narrative of the expedition, was to prove a valuable aid to its owner in amusing and overawing the red men. By them it was universally regarded as "big medicine" of a most potent type, sharing honors in this respect with woolly-headed York, Clark's powerful negro servant.

\*A description of this place to follow.

UNIV. OF  
CALIFORNIA

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for four years; about [blank in Ms.] we passed another ripple near [word missing] Past another bear or ripple with more difficulty than either of the others halted for the night much fatigued after labouring with my men all day—the water being sufficiently temperate was much in our favor; gave my men some whiskey and retired to rest at 8 OClock.

September 1<sup>st</sup>

The Pilott informed me that we were not far from a ripple which was much worse than any we had yet passed, and as there was so thick a fogg on the face of the water that no object was visible 40 paces he advised remaining untill the sun should acquire a greater altitude when the fogg would asscend and disappear; I consented; we remained untill eight Oclock this morning when we again set out—these Foggs are very common on the Ohio at this season of the year as also in the spring but do not think them as freequent or thick in the spring. perhaps this may in some measure assist us to account for the heavy dues which are mor[e] remarkable for their freequency and quantity than in any country I was ever in—they are so heavy the drops falling from the trees from about midnight untill sunrise gives you the eydea of a constant gentle rain, this continues untill the sun has acquired sufficient altitude to dissipate the fogg by its influence, and it then ceases—the dues are likewise more heavy during summer than elsewhere but not so much so as at this season. the Fog appears to owe its orrigin to the difference of temperature between the *air* and *water* the latter at this seson being much warmer than the former; the water being heated by the summers sun dose not undergo so rapid a change from the absence of the sun as the air dose consiquently when the air becomes most cool which is about sunrise the fogg is thickest and appears to rise from the face of the water like the steem from boiling water—we passed the *little horsetale* ripple or ruffle with much deficulty, all hands laboured in the water about two hours before we effected a passage; the next obstruction we met was the *big-horse tale* ruffle,<sup>1</sup> here we wer obliged to unload all our goods and lift the emty Boat over, about 5 OC[l]ock we reach the ruffle called Woollery's

<sup>1</sup> The Horse Tail Ripple is noted in the *Navigator* as opposite Irwin's Island. The latter is called Neville's or Long Island, by Cuming, who descended the Ohio in 1807. *Early Western Travels*, IV, 95. Shown on the U. S. A. map as Neville Island.



trap,<sup>1</sup> here after unloading again and exerting all our force we found it impracticable to get over, I therefore employed a man with a team of oxen with the assistance of which we at length got off we put in and remained all night having made only ten miles this day.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>ed</sup> Set out at sunrise 2 miles  $\frac{1}{2}$  to a riffle got out and pulled the boat over it with some difficulty—9 Oclock reched Logtown riffle<sup>2</sup> unloaded and with much difficulty got over detain[ed] 4 hours. The hills on either side of the ohio are from 3 to 400 feet which runing parrallel to each other keep the general course of the river, at the distance of about two miles while the river pursuing a serpentine course between them alternately washes their bases.—thus leaving fine bottom land between itself and the hills in large boddys, and frequently in the form of a simecicles or the larger segment of a circle or horseshoe form. The weather is extremely dry but there was some appearance of rain this morning which seems now to have blown over—supposed I had gotten over Logtown riffle but find ourselves stranded again suppose it best to send out two or three men to engage some oxen or horses to assist us obtain one horse and an ox, which enabled us very readily to get over payd the man his charge which was one dollar; the inhabitants who live near these riffles live much by the distresed situation of traveller are generally lazy charge extravagantly when they are called on for assistance and have no philanthropy or contience; passed the mouth of two little creeks to the north, called allfores<sup>3</sup> & a riffle a head; the boat rubbed for some distance but by geting out and pulling her on by the thwarts we got her over;—on each side of the river there are three banks, or suddon rises from the summets of which the land generally broke off for a certain distance pretty level untill [it] arrives at

<sup>1</sup> Noted by the *Navigator* (p. 75) half a mile below Hog Island; but modern Hog Island is a dozen miles farther downstream. Woollery's Trap was probably the "Waites Ripple" of the U. S. A. map.

<sup>2</sup> Logtown (or Logstown) Riffle took its name from the adjoining village of Logstown. It was a considerable trading center in the period immediately preceding the French and Indian War, but its importance dwindled after the English triumph registered in the Treaty of Paris of 1763. Thwaites locates its site "about eighteen miles down the river from Pittsburgh, just below the present town of Economy, Pennsylvania." *Early Western Travels*, I, 24. Just below Logstown, on the right bank of the river, is the site of Legionville, the encampment of General Wayne's army during the winter of 1792-93.

<sup>3</sup> "Allfour's Run" is shown on the U. S. A. map as entering the Ohio on the right at the twenty-mile point, measuring from Pittsburgh.

the high hills before mentioned which appear to give a direction to the river—the first bank or that which the river washes is generally from twenty to twentyfive feet, and the bottom lying on a level with this is only overflowed in remarkable high floods; the consequence is that there is no drowneded or marsh lands on this river; this bottom which is certainly the richest land from its being liable some times to be overflowed is not esteemed so valuable as the second bottom. The second bottom usually rises from twentyfive to thirty feet above the first and is allways safe or secure from inundation; usually good when wide from the 3<sup>d</sup> bank and contrary when the bottom is narrow or the river brakes against the 2<sup>d</sup> near the 3<sup>d</sup> bank which it sometimes dose what is called the third bottom is more properly the high benches of the large range of hills before noticed and is of a more varied description as well as it respects the fertility of its soil as shape and perpendicular hight, the river sometimes but very seldom brakes against this bank—second and third of these banks allways run parparallel with the high hills and that bordering on the river is of course shaped by it. passed Waller's riffle with but little difficulty—Thermometer stood at seventy six in the cabbin the temperature of the water in the river when emersed about the same—observed today the leaves of the *buckeye*, Gum, and sausafras begin to fade, or become red.

Sept. 3<sup>rd</sup>

Very foggy this morning. Thermometer 63° Ferrenheit, immersed the Thermometer in the river, and the mercurry arose immediately to 75° or summer heat so that there is 12° difference is sufficient to shew the vapor which arrises from the water; the fogg this prodused is impenetrably thick at this moment; we were in consequence obliged to ly by untill 9 this morning M<sup>r</sup> Gui Briant arrived with two boats loaded with firrs, he informs me that if I can reach, and get over the George-town barr 24 miles I can get on; this is some consolation. we set out at 9. this morning and passed a riffle just below us called Atkins's got over with tolerable ease passed the mouth of big bever creek<sup>1</sup> and came to ancor off Mackintosh<sup>2</sup> being 2½ miles—discharge

<sup>1</sup> Modern Beaver River, twenty-five miles below Pittsburgh. For a description of the town of Beaver at its mouth, as seen by a traveler in the summer of 1807, see *Early Western Travels*, IV, 98.

<sup>2</sup> The site of Fort McIntosh, erected by and named for Lachlan McIntosh, the American commander in charge at Fort Pitt in 1778. The advance of American settlements and garrisons down the Ohio led to its abandonment in

one of my hands.—passed the rifle below Mackintosh.—about three miles from this we stuck on another rifle the worst I think we have yet passed were obliged to unload and drag over with horses.—staid all night having made only six miles.  
Sept. 4<sup>th</sup> 1803.

Morning foggy, obliged to wait. Thermometer at 63° temperature of the river-water 73° being a difference of ten degrees, but yesterday there was a difference of twelve degrees so that the water must have changed it 10° temperature 2<sup>d</sup> in twenty four hours, cooler: at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 8. the mercury rose in the open air to 68° the fog disappeared. and we set out; the difference therefore of 5° in temperature between the water and air is not sufficient to produce the appearance of fog—from the watermark we fixed last evening it appeared that the river during the night had fallen an inch perpendicularly.—the Perogue was loaded as has been my practice since I left Pittsburgh, in order as much as possible to lighten the boat, the [men] who conducted her called as in distress about an hour after we had got under way, we came too and waited her coming up found she had sprung a leak and had nearly filled: this accident was truly distressing, as her load consisting of articles of hard-ware, intended as presents to the Indians got wet and I fear are much damaged; proceeded about three miles further got fast on a bar below Georgetown,<sup>1</sup> and with the assistance of some of the neighboring people got over it with much difficulty; at Georgetown purchased a canoe compleat with two paddles and two poles for which I gave 11.\$. found that my new purchase leaked so much that she was unsafe without some repairs; came too about a mile below the rifle on the east shore pretty early in the evening where we stayed all night having made about thirteen miles this day. opened the articles which had got wet and exposed them to the sun; set some of my hands to repairing the canoes which I effected before night had the articles well oiled and put up in oilcloth bags and returned to the casks in which they were previously were, hired another hand  
1788. Cuming writes in 1807 that “no vestige remains [of the fort] except the hearth of the officers’ fireplace.” *Early Western Travels*, IV, 99.

<sup>1</sup> Founded in 1793, and named in honor of the better-known Georgetown, D. C. Georgetown still remains a small village. Cuming, 1807, found it a town of thirty houses, only twenty-five of which were inhabited, for the place was already “on the decline.” *Early Western Travels*, IV, 101. A voyager upon the Ohio toward the end of the century, Thwaites, describes it as “a prosperous-looking, sedate town, with tidy lawns running down to the edge of the terrace.” Thwaites, *On the Storied Ohio* (Chicago, 1903), 31.

to go with me as far as Wheeling—the articles were not as much injured as I had supposed.—about two miles above my camp passed the line, which divides the States of Virginia and Pennsylvania on the east side of the river and on the West that of Pennsylvania from the State of Ohio; this line is made vi[sible] from the timber having been felled about sixty feet in width, the young timber has spring up but has not yet attained the height of the other that it can with ease be traced with the eye a considerable distance—it passed the Ohio River at the mouth of mill Creek. The water is so low and clear that we see a great number of Fish of different kinds, the Sturgeon, Bass, Cat fish, pike, &c. we fixed some spears after the indian method but have had too much to attend to of more importance than gigging fish.<sup>1</sup> September 5<sup>th</sup>

Again foggy, loaded both my canoes and waited till the fog disappeared set out at 8 OCl. had some difficulty in passing several riffles today but surmounted it without having recourse to horses or oxen—rained at six this evening and continued with some intervals through the night to rain pretty heard; took up at the head of Brown's Island;<sup>2</sup> it grew very dark and my canoes which had on board the most valuable part of my stores had not come up, ordered the trumpet to be Sound[ed] and they answered.—they came up in a few minutes after; the stores in the canoes being well secured with oil cloth I concluded to let them remain on board and directed that the water which they maid should be bailed out of them occasionally through the night, which was done—they still leaked considerably notwithstanding the repairs which I had made on them; we came 16 miles this day. September 6<sup>th</sup> 1803.

The fog was as thick as usual this morning detained us untill  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7. O'C. when we set out—observed the Thermometer in the air to stand at 71° Water 73°—the fog continued even with [this] small differences between the temperature of the air and water [s]truck on a riffle which we got over with some difficulty and in the distance of two miles and a half passed 4 others three of which we were obliged to drag over with horses; the man charged me the exorbitant price of two dollars for his trouble.—got on

<sup>1</sup> The night's camp was at, or in the vicinity of, East Liverpool, Ohio, now the center of important pottery and tile manufactures.

<sup>2</sup> Still called Brown's Island, its head, and the night's camp, six miles above Steubenville, Ohio. For an interesting sketch of "Squire" Brown, from whom it takes its name, see *Early Western Travels*, IV, 105-6.

pretty well to Steunbenville which we past at 2 O.C. being 6 m. from encamp[ment] hoisted our fore sail found great relief from it we run two miles in a few minutes when the wind becoming so strong we were obliged to hall it in lest it should carry away the mast, but the wind abating in some measure we again spread it; a sudon squal broke the sprete and had very nearly carried away the mast, after which we firlid and secured it tho' the wind was so strong as to carry us pretty good speed by means of the arning and firlid sails.—struck on a riffle about two miles below the town hoisted our mainsail to assist in driving us over the riffle the wind blew so heard as to break the sprete of it, and now having no assistance but by manual exertion and my men woarn down by perpetual lifting I was obliged again to have recourse to my usual resort and sent out in serch of horses or oxen—Stewbenville a small town situated on the Ohio in the State of Ohio about six miles above Charlestown in Virginia and 24 above Wheeling—is [a] small well built thriving place has several respectable families residing in it, five years since it was a wilderness<sup>1</sup>—the oxen arrived got off with difficulty the oxen drew badly however with their assistance we got over two other riffles which lyed just below; we proceeded about a mile and a half further and encamped on the west bank<sup>2</sup> having made *ten miles* this day.

September the 7<sup>th</sup>

Foggy this morning according to custom; set out at half past seven, and in about two hundred paces stuck on a riffle all hands obliged to get out—observed the Thermometer at sun rise in the air to stand at 47° the tem[pe]rature of the river water being 68°—difference —21°—got over the riffle, at 45 m<sup>ts</sup> after 8. passed Charlestown<sup>3</sup> on the E. shore above the mouth of

<sup>1</sup> Steubenville was founded in 1797 upon the site of Fort Steuben, one of the earliest blockhouses built in Ohio by the federal government. Its growth was rapid; Cuming, who visited it in 1807 ascribes to it 160 houses. Two years later a bank with a capital of \$100,000 was established here. *Early Western Travels*, IV, 107-8.

<sup>2</sup> Four miles, according to Lewis' reckoning, below Steubenville.

<sup>3</sup> This is modern Wellsburg, W. Va.; it was laid out a dozen years before Lewis' visit by Charles Prather, in whose honor it was named. In 1807 it had, according to Cuming, "about eighty houses of various materials." Being the seat of government of Brooke County, Virginia, it had also a courthouse, jail, stocks, and pillory. The two latter instruments of justice are described by Cuming, and animadverted upon by the author of the *Navigator*. See *Early Western Travels*, IV, 109, and the *Navigator*, 82.

Buffaloe over which there is built a handsom wooden bridge, this has the appearance of a handsome little Village, containing about forty houses—this village is three miles below our encampment of last evening—reached Wheeling<sup>1</sup> 16 Miles distant at 5 in the evening. this is a pretty considerable Village contains about fifty houses and is the county town of Ohio (State of Virginia) it is situated on the east side of the river on an elevated bank; the landing is good. just below the town and on the same side [close] by Wheeling creek emptys itself into the Ohio, on the point formed by this creek and the river stands an old stoccade fort,<sup>2</sup> now gone to decay; this town is remarkable for being the point of embarkation for merchants and Emegrants who are about to descend the river,<sup>3</sup> particularly if they are late in geting on and the water gets low as it most commonly is from the begining of July to the last of September; the water from hence being much deeper and the navigation better than it is from Pittsburgh or any point above it—I went on shore waited on a M<sup>r</sup> Caldwell a merchant of that place to whome I had consigned a part of my goods which I had sent by land from Pittsburgh; found the articles in good order; her[e] met with Col<sup>o</sup> Rodney<sup>4</sup> one of the commissioners appointed by the government to adjust the landed claims in the Mississippi Territory in his suit was Maj<sup>r</sup> Claiborne<sup>5</sup> and a young gentleman

<sup>1</sup> For an interesting picture of Wheeling as seen by a cultured river voyager of 1894 see Thwaites, *On the Storied Ohio*, 59–62. The fifty houses of Lewis' visit had grown in ninety years to a city of 50,000.

<sup>2</sup> Wheeling was a noted point in the Revolutionary period; "and everyone," says Thwaites, "who knows his Western history at all has read of the three famous sieges of Wheeling (1777, 1781, and 1782), and the daring deeds of its men and women, which help illumine the pages of border annals." He further says that the fort "that had never surrendered" was demolished in 1784, a statement which Lewis would seem to controvert.

<sup>3</sup> It received added importance "on account of its situation where the great post roads from Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the northern part of Virginia unite, and cross the river, on the route through the states of Ohio and Kentucky, to Tennessee and New Orleans." *Early Western Travels*, IV, 112.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Rodney, born in Delaware in 1744 and died in Mississippi Territory in 1811. He was a brother of Caesar Rodney, for whom see *post*, 39, note 1. In July, 1803, he and Robert Williams were appointed land commissioners for the territory west of Pearl River, and at the same time he was appointed to the office of territorial judge, which he held until his death. The town of Rodney, and Rodney Landing, on the Mississippi commemorate his name.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne, brother of Gov. William C. C. Claiborne of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Orleans territories. He served in

who was going on to the Territory with a view to commence the practice of the law—he is a pupil of Czar Rodney<sup>1</sup> of Delaware remained all night.

8<sup>th</sup> this day wrote to the President,<sup>2</sup> purchased a perogues and hired a man to work her, my men were much fatigued and I concluded it would be better to give them a day[s] rest and let them wash their cloths and exchange their flour for bread or bake their bread in a better manner than they had the means of baking it while traveling; dined with Col<sup>o</sup> Rodney and his suit, in the evening they walked down to my boat and partook of some watermelons. I here also met with D<sup>r</sup> Patterson<sup>3</sup> the son of the professor of mathematicks in the University of Philad<sup>a</sup> he expressed a great desire to go with me I consented provided he could get ready by three the next evening he thought he could and instantly set about it; I told the D<sup>r</sup> that I had a letter of appointment for a second Lieut. which I could give him but did not feel myself altogether at liberty to use it as it was given me by the President to be used in the event of M<sup>r</sup> Clark's not consenting to go with me but as he had I could

General Wayne's campaign in Ohio, and subsequently in the regular army, rising to the rank of captain, until Jan. 1, 1802, when he resigned, and became a resident and merchant of Natchez. In Mississippi he held various civil and military offices, in 1811 he became brigadier-general of militia of the Territory, and during the War of 1812 became a brigadier-general of U. S. volunteers. He died suddenly in the year 1815.

<sup>1</sup> Caesar Rodney, Revolutionary soldier and statesman, born at Dover, Del., in 1730, and died at the same place in 1784. He was a delegate to the first and second continental congresses and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is printed in Thwaites, VII, 269–70. The original manuscript is preserved in the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the State Department, at Washington.

<sup>3</sup> The father, Robert Patterson, was born in Ireland in 1743 and died at Philadelphia in 1824. After serving in the Revolution he was elected professor of mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania, a position which he retained for thirty-five years. In 1805 he was appointed director of the mint by President Jefferson, and continued to fill this office until his last illness. He was the author or editor of a number of scientific works and received the degree of LL. D. from his university in 1819. The son, William Ewing, was born in 1782 and died in 1829. He proved to be the wayward son of a famous family, his career blighted and his death hastened by alcoholic excesses. It is interesting to reflect upon the probable influence upon such a character of the severe schooling and stern discipline of the exploring expedition, and the narrowness of the margin by which possible future fame and happiness escaped him. For the story of his life see *A Record of the Families of Robert Patterson (the Elder)* (Philadelphia, 1847), pt. I, 51–56.

not use it without the previous consent of the President; however if he thought proper to go on with me to the Illinois where I expected to winter I could obtain an answer from the President by the spring of the year or before the Missouri would be sufficiently open to admit of my ascending it; and that in the event of the President's not consenting to our wishes, I conceived that the situation of that country was a much more eligible one for a physician than that of Wheeling particularly as he stated the practice which he had acquired at Wheeling was not an object; the D<sup>r</sup> was to have taken his medicine with him which was a small assortment of about 100 £ value. remained here all night— The people began to top their corn and collect their fodder—

9<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>

The D<sup>r</sup> could not get ready I waited until three [e] this evening and then set out had some difficulty in getting over a riffle one mile below the town, got on six miles and brought too,<sup>1</sup> I was now informed that by some mistake in the contract between the Corporal and the woman who had engaged to bake the bread for the men at Wheeling that the woman would not agree to give up the bread being 90 lbs. and that the bread was left I instantly dispatched the Corporal<sup>1</sup> and two men for the bread and gave him a dollar to pay the woman for her trouble; about the time we landed it began to rain very hard and continued to rain most powerfully all night with small intervals; had my perogues covered with oil-cloth, but the rain comes down in such torrents that I found it necessary to have them bailed out frequently in the course of the night; in attending to the security of my goods I was exposed to the rain and got wet to the skin as I remained until about twelve at night, when I wrung out my saturated cloths, put on a dry shirt turned into my birth; the rain was excessively cold for the season of the year.

10<sup>th</sup>

The rain ceased about day, the clouds had not dispersed, and looked very much like giving us a repetition of the last evening's frolic, there was but little fog and I should have been able to have set out at sunrise, but the Corporal had not yet returned with the bread—I began to fear that he was piqued with the sharp reprimand I gave him the evening before for his negligence & inattention with respect to the bread and had deserted; in this

<sup>1</sup> The camp for the night was three miles below Bellaire, Ohio.



however I was agreeably disappointed, about 8 in the morning he came up bring[ing] with him the two men and the bread, they instantly embarked and we set out we passed several very bad riffles this morning and at 11 O'clock six miles below our encampment of last evening I landed on the east side of the [river] and went on shore to view a remarkable artificial mound of earth called by the people in the neighbourhood the Indian grave.<sup>1</sup>—This remarkable artificial mound of earth stands on the east bank of the Ohio 12 Miles below Wheeling and about 700 paces from the river, as the land is not cleared the mound is not visible from the river—this mound gives name to two small creeks called little and big grave creek which passing about a half a mile on each side of it & fall into Ohio about a mile distant from each other the small creek is above, the mound stands on the most elevated ground of a large bottom containing about 4000 acres of land the bottom is bounded from N. E. to S. W. by a high range of hills which seem to describe a semicircle around it of which the river is the diameter, the hills being more distant from the mound than the river, near the mound to the N. stands a small town lately laid out called Elizabethtown<sup>2</sup> there are but about six or seven dwelling houses in it as yet, in this town there are several mounds of the same kind of the large one but not near as large, in various parts of this bottom the traces of old intrenchments are to be seen tho' they are so imperfect that they cannot be traced in such manner as to make any complete figure; for this enquire I had not leisure I shall therefore content myself by giving a description of the large mound and offering some conjectures with regard to the probable purposes for which they were intended by their founders; who ever they may have been.—the mound is nearly a regular cone 310 yards in circumference at its base & 65 feet high terminating in a blunt point whose diameter is 30 feet, this point is concave being depressed about five feet in the center, around the base runs a ditch 60 feet in width which is broken or inter[sected] by a ledge of earth raised as high as the outer bank of the ditch on the N. W.

<sup>1</sup> Located within the limits of Moundsville, W. Va. Most travelers upon the Ohio have tried their hands at describing it, even as Lewis does in the following paragraphs. See, for example, *Early Western Travels*, III, 360-62, IV, 114-16; and Thwaites, *On the Storied Ohio*, 64-66.

<sup>2</sup> Established by Joseph Tomlinson, a well-known pioneer, who named it in honor of his wife. Tomlinson was also the founder of Moundsville, with which Elizabethtown was later incorporated. *Early Western Travels*, III, 360, IV, 114-15.

side, this bank is about 30 feet wide and appears to have formed the entrance to fortified mound—near the summit of this mound grows a white oak tree whose girth is  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet, from the aged appearance of this tree I think its age might reasonably [be] calculated at 300 years, the whole mound is covered with large timber, sugar tree, hickory, poplar, red and white oak &c—I was informed that in removing the earth of a part of one of these lesser mounds that stands in the town the skeletons of two men were found and some brass beads were found among the earth near these bones, my informant told me the beads were sent to Mr Peals<sup>1</sup> museum in Philadelphia where he believed they now were.—

we got on twenty four miles this day, we passed some bad riffles but got over them without the assistance of cattle came too on the E. side in deep water and a bold shore staid all night a little above sunfish creek.<sup>2</sup>

11<sup>th</sup> September.

Set out about sunrise, passed Sunfish creek 1 Mile &c &c entered the long reach, so called from the Ohio running in straight direction for 18 miles in this reach there are 5 Islands from three to 2 miles in length each—observed a number of squirrels swimming the Ohio and universally passing from the W. to the East shore they appear to be making to the south; perhaps it may be mast or food which they are in search of but I should rather suppose that it is climate which is their object as I find no difference in the quantity of mast on both sides of this river it being abundant on both except the beach nut which appears extremely scarce this season. the walnuts and Hickory nuts the usual food of the squirrel appears in great abundance on either side of the river—I made my dog<sup>3</sup> take as many each day as I had occasion for, they were fat and I thought them when fried a pleasant food—many of these squirrels were black, they swim very light on the water and make pretty good speed—my dog was of the Newfoundland

<sup>1</sup> Charles Wilson Peale, the famous artist. For an account of his museum see J. T. Scharf, and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1881), II, 916–19.

<sup>2</sup> Shown on the U. S. A. map 117 miles below Pittsburgh, and this agrees, approximately, with Lewis' statement of the distance traveled this day. The *Navigators* shows Sunfish Creek as another stream, several miles higher up the Ohio.

<sup>3</sup> Lewis' dog was not the least interesting member of the famous exploring expedition. He receives frequent mention in the journals kept by the two leaders.

breed very active strong and docile, he would take the squirrel in the water kill them and swimming bring them in his mouth to the boat. we lay this night below the fifth Island in the long reach on the E. side of the river having come 26 miles.<sup>1</sup>

12<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> set out at sunrise it began to rain and continued with some intervals untill three in the evening passed several bad riffles and one particularly at the lower end of the long reach called Willson's riffle here we were obliged to make a cut a channel through the gravel with our spade and canoe paddles and then drag the boat through<sup>2</sup> we were detained about 4 hours before we accomplished this task and again continued our rout and took up on the N. W. shore near a yankey farmer from whom I purchased some corn and pittatoes for my men and gave him in exchange a few lbs. of lead, we came 20 miles this day.<sup>3</sup>

13<sup>th</sup> This morning being clare we persued our journey at sunrise and after passing a few riffles over which we had to lift the boat we arrived at Marietta,<sup>4</sup> the mouth of the Muskingum river, at 7. OClock in the evening observed many pigeons passing over us pursuing a south East course. The squirrels still continue to cross the river from N. W. to S. E.—Marietta is one hundred miles from Wheeling;<sup>5</sup> lay here all night wrote to the President

<sup>1</sup> The "fifth island" is John Williamson's Island of the *Navigator*, Grand View Island of the U. S. A. map. On the latter it is laid down 142 miles below Pittsburgh, opposite the town of Grand View, Ohio.

<sup>2</sup> This operation, Lewis wrote to Jefferson, "is much more readily performed than you would imagin; the gravel of which many of these bars are formed, being small and lying in a loose state is readily removed with a spade, or even with a wooden shovel and when set in motion the current drives it a considerable distance before it subsides or again settles at the bottom; in this manner I have cut a passage for my boat of 50 yards in length in the course of an hour." Thwaites, VII, 271. But when driftwood or clay was intermixed with the gravel the process was impracticable, and resort must be had to horses or oxen. "I find them," concludes Lewis, "the most efficient sailors in the present state of the navigation of this river, altho' they may be considered somewhat clumsy."

<sup>3</sup> This calculation fixes the night's camp about nine miles above Marietta, Ohio.

<sup>4</sup> Marietta, the oldest city in Ohio, was founded in 1788 by the Ohio Company, under the leadership of Gen. Rufus Putnam. The Ohio Company grew out of the effort of the Revolutionary officers to secure payment in land for their military services. The settlers of Marietta were New Englanders and today the town's outward characteristics are strongly reminiscent of its New England origin. Two years before the founding of Marietta, Fort Harmar had been built on its site by a detachment of troops under Maj. John Doughty.

<sup>5</sup> Lewis' statements of distance commonly agree quite closely with the U. S. A. map; here, however, he has overstated the distance by twenty miles.

of US.<sup>1</sup> dismissed two of my hands, one of whome by the name of Wilkinson I had engaged at Georgetown, the other Sam<sup>l</sup> Montgomery, I engaged at Wheeling, my party from Pittsburgh to Mackintosh was 11 strong from thence to Georgetown 10, from thence to Wheeling 11, from thence to Muskingum 13, from thence to Limestone 12, at Wheeling I engaged Montgomery and a young man come on board and agreed to work his passage, on the same terms I engaged another at Marietta or the Mouth of Muskingum—this evening was visited by Col<sup>o</sup> Green<sup>2</sup> the Post-master at this place, he appears to be much of a gentleman and an excelant republican.—

14<sup>th</sup> September—

Set out this morning at 11 OClock was prevented seting out earlyer in consequence of two of my men geting drunk and absenting themselves. I ff[i]nally found them and had them brought on board, so drunk that they were unable to help themselves passed several riffles and lay all night on the N. W. shore<sup>3</sup>—was here informed that there were some instances of the *goitre* in the neighbourhood two women who lived on the bank of the river just below they had emigrated to that place from the lower part of pensylvania and had contracted the disorder since there residence on the Ohio—The *fever* and *ague* and bilious fevers here commence their banefull oppression and continue through the whole course of the river with increasing violence as you approach it's mouth—saw many squirrels this day swiming the river from N. W. to S. E. caught several by means of my dog—

15 September

Set out this morning at sunrise, passed the mouth of the little Kanaway<sup>4</sup> one mile below our encampment of last evening on the Virginia shore it is about 60 yards wide at it's mouth there is a considerable settlement on this river it heads with the Monongahela, passed the mouths of the little and big Hockhockin[g] and the settlement of Bellpray<sup>5</sup> a *yanke settlement*

<sup>1</sup> The letter is printed in Thwaites, VII, 271.

<sup>2</sup> Griffin Greene, one of the founders of Marietta, a director of the Ohio Company, and long a leading citizen of the place.

<sup>3</sup> Just above Parkersburg, W. Va.

<sup>4</sup> For a sketch of the beginnings of white occupation at this point see *Early Western Travels*, I, 130.

<sup>5</sup> Belpré was the second town laid out by the Ohio Company; this explains Lewis' characterization of it as a "yanke settlement." For further facts about

passed several bad riffles over which we were obliged to lift the boat, saw and caught by means of my dog several squirrels, attempting to swim the river, one of these, the only instance I have observed, was swimming from the S. E. to the N. W. shore—one of the canoes fell a considerable distance behind, we were obliged to ly too for her coming up which detained us several hours; it rained very hard on us from 7. this morning untill about three when it broke away and evening was clear with a few flying clouds, took up on the Virginia shore having mad[e] 18 Miles this day.<sup>1</sup>

16<sup>th</sup> September:

Thermometer this morning in the air 54° in the water 72° a thick fog which continued so thick that we did not set out untill 8 oClock in the morning the day was fair, passed several very bad riffles and among the rest Emberson's Island, while they were geting the boat through this long riffle I went on shore and shot some squirrels; my men were very much fatigued with this days labour however I continued untill nearly dark when we came too on the Virginia shore having made only 19 Miles this day.—September 17<sup>th</sup> The morning was foggy but b[e]ing informed by my pilot that we had good water for several miles I ventured to set out before the fog disappeared, came on seven miles to the old Town Bar,<sup>2</sup> which being a handsome clean place for the purpose I determined to spend the day and to open & dry my goods which I had found were wet by the rain on the 15<sup>th</sup> notwithstanding I had them secured with my oilcloths and a common-tent which I had as well as it was possible and the canoes frequently bailed in the course of the day and night I found on opening the goods that many of the articles were much Injured; particularly the articles of iron, which wer[e] rusted very much my guns, tomehawks, & knives were of this class; I caused them to be oiled and exposed to the sun the clothing of every discription also was opened and aired, we busily employed in this business all hands, from ten in the Morning untill sun seting when I caused the canoes to be

it see *Early Western Travels*, IV, 127. The village of Belleville, a dozen miles farther down the river on the Virginia side, was also known as Bellepré, so that it is not certain which of the two Lewis has in mind. On the latter settlement see *Early Western Travels*, IV, 131.

<sup>1</sup> This statement places the night's camp in the vicinity of Belleville, W. Va., shown on the U. S. A. map 201 miles below Pittsburgh.

<sup>2</sup> Shown on the U. S. A. map ten miles below Portland, Ohio, and 224 miles below Pittsburgh.

reloaded, having taken the precaution to put up all the articles that would addmitt of that mode of packing to be put in baggs of oil-cloth which I had provided for that purpose and again returned to their several casks, trunks, and boxes—my bisquit was much injured I had it picked and put up in these baggs—this work kept [me] so busy that I ate not anything untill after dark, being determined to have every thing in readiness for an early start in the morning; the evening was calm tho' the wind had blown extremely hard up the river all day—It is somewhat remarkable that the wind on this river, from much observation of my own, and the concurrent observation of those who inhabit it's banks, blows or sets up agains it's courent four days out of five during the course of the whole year;<sup>1</sup> it will readily be concieved how much this circumstance will aid the navigation of the river—when the Ohio is in it's present low state, betwen the riffles and in many places for several miles together there is no preseptable courent, the whole surface being perfectly dead or taking the direction only which the wind may chance to give it, this makes the passage down this stream more difficult than would at first view be imaged, when it is remembered also that the wind so frequently sets up the river; the way the traveler makes in descending therefore is by the dint of hard rowing—or force of the oar or pole.

18<sup>th</sup> September

The morning was clear and having had every thing in readiness the over night we set out before sunrise and at nine in the morning passed Letart's falls; being nine miles distant from our encampment of the last evening—this rappid is the most considerable in the whole course of the Ohio, except the rappids as they are called opposite to Louisville in Kentuckey—the descent at Letart's falls is a litte more than 4 four feet in two hundred fifty yards.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cuming notes this phenomenon, and states that the "trade wind" blows every day during the summer, generally commencing about eight o'clock in the morning and ceasing about five in the afternoon. *Early Western Travels*, IV, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Early voyagers on the Ohio generally made much of the difficulties encountered in passing Letart's Falls. Thwaites is inclined to minimize their danger, describing them as rapids rather than falls. They are of slight consequence, he declares, even at a low stage of the water, "save to the careless canoeist who has had no experience in rapid water, well-strewn with sunken boulders." *On the Storied Ohio*, 113-14. The Falls are ten miles below Old Town Bar, Lewis' encampment of the previous night.

11<sup>th</sup> November<sup>1</sup>—

Arrived at Massac<sup>2</sup> engaged George Drewyer<sup>3</sup> in the public service as an Indian Interpreter, contracted to pay him 25 Dollars p<sup>r</sup> month for his services.—M<sup>r</sup> Swan<sup>4</sup> Assistant Military agent at that place advanced him *thirty* dollars on account of his pay.

12<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> remaind. took equal altitudes A. M. but was prevented from compleating the observation by taking an observation in the evening by the clouds—[three-fourths of a page left blank]

13<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> [three-fourths of a page left blank]

left Massac this evening about five oclock—descended about three miles and encamped on the S. E. shore rain[e]d very hard in the ev[en]ing and I was siezed with a violent ague which continued about four hours and as usual was succeeded by a fever which however fortunately abated in some measure by sunrise the next morning.

14<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> set out by light at sunrise I took a doze of Rushes pills<sup>5</sup> which operated extremly well and I found myself much to

<sup>1</sup> Between the entries in the journal for September 18 and November 11, thirty-nine pages intervene; the first eight are blank, while the remaining thirty-one are filled with notes concerning the later course of the expedition. I am unable to advance any plausible conjecture concerning the cause of this long hiatus in the journal, covering, as it does, fifty-four days in time and the descent of 694 miles (according to the U. S. A. map) of the Ohio. To a limited extent the omission is remedied by other sources of information, particularly by two letters written by Lewis from Cincinnati to Clark and Jefferson respectively, and published in Thwaites, VII, 272–79. From these we learn that Cincinnati was reached September 28, and that a pause at this place of several days was indulged in, to allow the men an opportunity to recover from the effects of the hardships undergone in descending the river.

<sup>2</sup> The site of Fort Massac was eight miles below Paducah, Ky., on the Illinois side of the river. The fort was erected in 1794, by order of General Wayne. It occupied the site of an earlier French post, erected during the French and Indian War. For a description of the place as it appeared to Cumming in 1807 see *Early Western Travels*, IV, 276–77.

<sup>3</sup> George Drewyer (or Drouillard) became “one of the two or three most valuable men of the expedition.” For a sketch of his career see Olin D. Wheeler, *The Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804–1904* (New York, 1904), I, 105–12. In future citations of this work the author's name only will be used.

<sup>4</sup> William Swan, who entered the army from Massachusetts. He was stationed at Fort Massac from 1802 to 1804. He served in the War of 1812, resigning from the army June 9, 1814. He died June 12, 1872.

<sup>5</sup> Probably referring to Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and one of the most noted physicians of his time. ‘Rushes pills’ seem to have been regarded with high favor by Lewis, and numerous references to their use occur during the later course of the expedition.

my satisfaction entirely clear of fever by the evening—passed Wilkinson ville<sup>1</sup> about 12 Oclock oposite to which is the first or great chain of rocks streching in an oblique manner across the Oho [two pages left blank] this evening landed at the point at which the Ohio and Mississippi form their junction felt myself much better but extreemly week.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> took equal altitudes A. M. 8.59.6—lost the afternoon from clouds which interveened and prevented them Capt Clark made a partial survey of the point and ascertained by the Circumferenter and and projection that the width of the Ohio from

	Yards
the point was . . . . .	1274
The Mississippi . . . . .	1435
and the width of them both from those observed points on their respective banks was . . . . .	2002

[One page left blank]

Nov<sup>r</sup> 16<sup>th</sup>

Passed the Miss[iss]ippi this day and went down on the other side after landing at the upper habitation on the oposite side. we found here som[e] Shawnees and Delewars incamped; one of the Shawnees a respectable looking Indian offered me three beverskins for my dog with which he appeared much pleased, the dog was of the newfoundland breed one that I prised much for his docility and qualifications generally for my journey and of course there was no bargain, I had given 20\$ for this dogg myself—Capt. Clark and myself passed over to the lowest point in view on this the W. side of the river from the point of junction of the rivers—found below it a sand bar, and a willow point forming which in low water will prevent any vessels coming too within two or three hundred yards of the main s[h]ore or bank. tho' this is the place at which a fort must be erected if one is built on that side of the Mississippi within many miles of the mouth of Ohio. from this place to the uper habitation (or the point which we maid from our place of observation in measuring the river) was 28 hundred and 50 yards; from the place of observation this place bore on our return which was at 5<sup>m</sup> after 1. Oclock we were a

<sup>1</sup> Wilkinsonville was located seventeen miles above Mound City, Ill. Cum-  
 ing writes of it in 1807 as though it had been abandoned as a place of habitation.  
*Early Western Travels*, IV, 278. It was named for General Wilkinson of the  
 U. S. army. Thwaites, in 1891, found two or three farmhouses the sole relics  
 of the place. *On the Storied Ohio*, 291.



little surprised at the apparent size of a Catfish which the Men had caught in our absence altho we had been previously accustomed to see those of from thirty to sixty pounds weight we determined to ascertain the weight of this fish after taking the following dementions of it—

	F	Inches
Length . . . . .	4.	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
width between the eyes . . . . .	1.	1
Circumference around the head just above the first fins and lower extremity of the gills being the largest part of the fish . . . . .	3.	9.
The dementions of the mouth when opened to the ordinary, or easy practicable width was . . . . .		
From the center of the lower to the upper jaw . . . . .	0.	8
Width from side to side . . . . .	0.	10

Weight	
Head . . . . .	44 . . .
Enterals—very emty . . . . .	14 . . .
Other parts of the carcase . . . . .	65 . . .
The loss of blood, its lying out of the water six hours in the sun, & the waistage from the circumstance of being obliged to weigh it in small draughts not having any method of weighing entire may be estimated at, at least . . . . .	5 . . .
Total weight . . . . .	128 . . .

I have been informed that these fish have been taken in various parts of the Ohio & Mississippi weighing from 175 to 200 lbs. weight which from the evidence of the subject above mentioned I have no doubt is authentic—saw a heath hen or grouse which flew of[f] and having no gun with me did not persue it—

[Nearly one page blank]

Took equal alitudes of the sun

	h	m	s		h	m	s
A. M.	8.	33.	32	P. M.	2.	36.	38.5
	8.	35.	35.5		2.	38.	27.5
	8.	37.	30.5		2.	40.	30.5

☉ center

Altitude given by sextant	39°	50'	00''
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Equal altitudes corrected

	h	m	s		h	m	s
A. M.	8.	35	35.5	P. M.	2.	38	27.5
						s	
Chronometer too slow				M. F.	22.	56.1	
d° d°				Ap. T	22.	55.1	

[One-half page blank]

Nov<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup>

the [wind] blew very heard last night from N. and continued without intermission throughout the day it became could about twelve oclock—the canoes were driven by the violence of the waves against the shore and filled with water I therefore thought myself fortunate in having had them unladen on my arrival.—measured the hight of the bank in the point and found it 36. F 8 I above the level of the water at thime which may with much propriety be deemed *low water mark* as neither the Ohio or Mississippi wer ever known to be lower—I yesterday measured the bank on the W. side of the Mississippi and found it 52 feet 8 Inches and the bank at this hight is sometimes overflown so that allowing the water to be on a level a dike in the point to be on a level with the opposite bank must be raised 16 feet and to render it completely safe a few feet higher—the bank of the Mississippi side is from two to 4 feet higher than the extreem point and is about the same number of feet higher than the bank of the Ohio.—

Nov<sup>r</sup> 18<sup>th</sup>

Set out early this morning with a canoe and eight men in company with Capt. Clark to visit and view the ground on which Oald Fort Jefferson<sup>1</sup> stood; the river run from the point of junction S. 80 E. to the point of an island about 4 Miles distant; at this or oposite to it found six Shawano hunting camps; the Island is formed by a *byo* which makes out nearly in the direction observed course of the river, the river turning more to the S., this *byo* runs about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  [miles] approaching the highland very nearly in *one point*, and after recieving the waters of Mayfield creek empty itself again into the Mississippi, the lower mouth of this byo affords much the best navigation to the mouth of the creek, it is at the junction of this creek & byo that fort Jefferson stands on rising ground, North of Byo & West of the creek—on our return landed on the spanish side in order to take the course of the bank of the river on that side, in accomplishing this object we reached the huts of some persons who had established themselves for the purpose of trading with the Indians; found a number of our men who had left camp contrary to instructions & drunk, had much difficulty in getin

<sup>1</sup> Fort Jefferson was built by George Rogers Clark in 1780 as a stronghold in his struggle with the British for supremacy in the West. It was abandoned the following year.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> Took equal altitudes.

	h	m	s		h	m	
A. M.	8.	42.	18	P. M.	2.	25.	21.5
	8.	44.	12		2.	27.	24
	8.	46.	10		2.	29.	26

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Altitude	Art.	Houg <sup>h</sup> & Sectn <sup>s</sup>
41°	26'	37''

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Sextant Error 8' 45 "

[One and one-half pages blank]

## CHAPTER II

### ASCENDING THE MISSISSIPPI, NOVEMBER 20—DECEMBER 12, 1803

Nov<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>

Left our mouring on the Ohio side of the point at 10 OC. and after geting out well into the stream our course, time, and estimated distances were as follows

Course	Time	Es <sup>t</sup> dist miles	Remark on references
o	h		
S. 70. W	1.50	3.	Isl <sup>d</sup> Str. $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles long (1)
N. 20. W.	3.50.	$4\frac{1}{2}$	2 Is <sup>d</sup> 3 <sup>m</sup> long (2)
N. 53. W.	2.00	3	to point Starb <sup>d</sup> (3)

21<sup>st</sup> [one-half of a page blank]

Remarks—(Nov<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>)

(1) There is a sand bar that extends about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile from the lower extremity of this Island, and reaches below the junction of the Ohio & Mississippi. the island lys in this form it's greater diameter with the course of the stream; and from the present appe[ar]ance of the land on the Starbord wif [will] soon form a part of the main land of that shore tho' at this moment it is devided from it more than a quarter of a mile by a sand beach which has a small chanel of about 30 yards wide at the lower point of Isl<sup>d</sup> passing through it—the cou[r]se last marked was that of the lower extremity of the Island the uper point bearing a little to the N. of W.—Came too at 11.45 A. M. on a small sand barr 300 paces from the uper point of this Island, where I made the men take some refreshment and observed the Meridian Alt<sup>d</sup> of the ☉'s Upper Limb to be 67° 29' 53" with my sextant; the Error of which had been previously ascertained to be 8' 45"—Lat<sup>d</sup> fr<sup>m</sup> this obs. 36° 50' 14" 9—



August 30<sup>th</sup> 1806

Left Pittsburgh this day at 11<sup>o</sup>ck.  
with a party of 11 men 7 of which  
are soldiers, a pilot and three young  
men in total they having proposed  
to go with me throughout the voyage.  
Arrived at Bruno's Island 3 miles  
below halted a few minutes.  
went on shore and being invited  
in by some of the gentlemen  
present to try my engine which  
I had purchased brought it on  
shore charged it and fired my-  
self seven times fifty five yards  
with pretty good success; after  
which a Mr. Blaz. Conas being  
unacquainted with the manag-  
ement of the gun suffered her to  
discharge herself accidentally and



(2) This Island lies close to the main land, and is divided from it by a small channel, the lower point distant  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the upper point of the last Island; it is in this form with a small island as laid down above it the whole extending 3—miles—a small distance above the second Island there is another lying as above laid down; above which a small distance and two hundred yards from the (3) point which formed the termination of the last course we came too on the Starb<sup>d</sup> side and stayed all night; opposite our landing is the lower p<sup>t</sup> of an Island on the Larb<sup>d</sup> we came by my estimate  $11\frac{1}{2}$  miles today.

(Nov<sup>r</sup> 21<sup>st</sup>)

(1)<sup>1</sup> This is inconsiderable, being  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. in length a distant  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. from the lower point of (2) another which commences with the last course on the La<sup>d</sup> side, makes a considerable bend to the S. E. and presents a large sand bar along it's border. on the center of the bend of this bar I made the following observation in order to obtain the variation of the needle—A. M. 9.<sup>h</sup> 2.<sup>m</sup> 0.<sup>s</sup> by Chronometer; Alt<sup>d</sup>  $\odot$ 's S. S.  $45^{\circ} 42' 15''$  by Sextant;  $\odot$  bearing S.  $46^{\circ} 30'$  E.—Chronometer too slow as deduced from observation on 16<sup>th</sup> inst.  $24.<sup>m} 8 \frac{1}{10}^s</sup>$ —Error of Sexta<sup>t</sup>  $8' 45''$ —this Island continues & after getting above it find it had concealed another about the same magnitude of itself; these Islands lie in this form



(3) Observed Meridian alt<sup>d</sup>. of  $\odot$  ' U.L.  $66^{\circ} 56' 15''$  with Sext Error  $8' 45''$ —having come by estimate 7 Miles from this place observed a large quantity of Misseltoe on the trees bordering on the river. on the main shore Lar<sup>d</sup> side: in descending the Ohio I first observed this plant about the mouth of the Muskingum river, which is the point at which I date the commencement of the *fever and Ague & bilious fever* to commence, or become common among the inhabitants of it's borders; it continued increasing untill I arrived at the mouth of the Ohio and s[t]ill continues in larger quantities on this than on the Ohio, insomuch that the trees at this place were perfectly loaded with it—saw a number of *black & white sided ducks*, shot at them with my rifle and crip-

<sup>1</sup> The numbers refer to the similar notation in the statement of "Courses" which closes the journal entry for the day.

pled one but could not obtain it, I cannot therefore describe them so manutely as I could wish they are about the size of the *wood duck*,—we shot at two deer today that had come to the river to drink, but got neither of them tho' one was badly wounded—just below the place of observation the grand bend as it is stiled by the french watermen, commences on the Lar<sup>d</sup> quarter and continues bearing from S. E. to N. W. about 6 miles; about the center of the hollow of this bend on lar<sup>d</sup> quarter a byo makes out, and dose not return to the chanel of the river again untill it reaches below Tanslagrass, which is 50 Miles below the mouth of the Ohio: from the commencement of this cours four Islands make their appearance, which compleatly fill the river on the Star<sup>d</sup> qut<sup>r</sup> as they also do that side of the great bend.—passed a small Island on the La<sup>d</sup> q<sup>tr</sup> came too on an Is<sup>d</sup> La<sup>d</sup> q<sup>t</sup> about the up[pe]r extremity of the grand bend, staid all night.—

Courses of this day Nov <sup>r</sup> 21 <sup>st</sup> 1803.			
	Time	Es <sup>t</sup> dist	Remarks & reffern
N. 50. W.	40.	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	passed Is La <sup>d</sup> $\frac{1}{4}$ long (1)
D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup>	3.0	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	d <sup>o</sup> Is. Lar <sup>d</sup> 3 miles long (2)
S. 20 E.	2.30	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	To sand bar Sta <sup>d</sup>
	2.30	2	Small Is. Lard. qtr. (3)
S. 72. W.	1. "	" $\frac{1}{2}$	Isld <sup>r</sup> continues on Sta <sup>d</sup>
N. 62. W.	" .30	$\frac{1}{2}$	still in the grand bend
N. 52.	2.25	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	To an Isl <sup>d</sup> on Lar <sup>d</sup> side
Total dist.		11.	where we halted for the night

Set out at 7 OC. this morning 21<sup>st</sup>  
Nov<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup> 1803.

*Misselaneous remarks &c.*

Set out at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 A. M. the current very rapid and difficult. (1) the iner part of every bend of this river where it makes any considerable turn is always filled with Island[s] of different shapes and sizes; this remark applys to every part of this river so far as we have yet assended.—at the expiration of this course saw some *Heth hens* or *grows*—one of my men went on shore and killed one of them, of which we made soome soup for my friend Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark who has been much indisposed since the 16<sup>th</sup> inst. this bird shall hereafter be more particularly discribed.— (2) arrived oposite three new habitation[s] of some Americans who had settled under the spanish government, this settlement is on a



bottom called *Tywappety*,<sup>1</sup> the bank is high: called at the upper habitation—from the center of the river opposite this settlement a large Island appears a head distant  $1\frac{1}{2}$  [miles] and gives much the appearance to the river of its forking or rather relieving a very considerable river on the Lar<sup>d</sup> side—was informed by a M<sup>r</sup> Findley the owner of this habitation that there were fifteen families in this settlement—I took the height of this bank above the present state of the water which was considered as very low and found its elevation 32 feet 6 inches; this bottom seldom overflows at least not since the present settlement has been formed which has been about 4 years—Overtook two keels from Louisville bound to Kaskaskias loaded with dry goods and whiskey, belonging to M<sup>r</sup> Bullet<sup>2</sup> of Louisville; this place by the computation of the inhabitants is 25 miles above the mouth of the Ohio but by my estimate is only 22 miles.

(3) one of which on Lar<sup>d</sup> qu<sup>ter</sup> is about three miles in length—and nearly the same in breadth opposite to the upper end of this Isl<sup>d</sup> met two Keeled boats loaded with furs for New Orleans; at the same place on the Star<sup>d</sup> the land appears not usually to be overflowed being covered with a considerable portion of poplar and white-oak timber, tho' the bank is several feet lower than that I measured this forenoon; this is the first poplar or White Oak I have seen since we began to ascend the river; I have seen but little *cain* since we left the Ohio, and my pilot informed me that from hence up the river there is not any in the neighbourhood of it; the banks appear every where to abound with the *sand* or *scrubbing Rush*, it grows much thicker, and arrives to a much greater height in the bottoms of this river than I ever observed it elsewhere,

<sup>1</sup> Tywappity Bottom is the name still applied to the flood plain on the Missouri side of the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Ohio. Lewis fixes the date of founding the settlement with approximate accuracy. Special interest attaches to the locality in connection with the present volume, because of the fact that Sergeant Ordway made it his home after his return from the exploring expedition. Another interesting settler of Tywappity was Reason Bowie, to whom is popularly ascribed the invention of the bowie knife. For a further sketch of Tywappity Bottom see Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), II, 162-63.

<sup>2</sup> The Bullitt family was prominently connected with the early history of Louisville. Capt. Thomas Bullitt, who died in 1778, in 1773 led the first party which attempted to explore the vicinity of the Falls of the Ohio. Cuthbert and Thomas Bullitt, "distinguished merchants" of early Louisville, were descendants of the brother of Capt. Thomas Bullitt, the surveyor. Probably one of these men is the person alluded to in the journal.

I measured a stalk of it which was 8 feet 2 inches in length &  $3\frac{1}{8}$  inches in circumference; it grows as thick comparatively as the stalks of luxurient wheat: It rises in a single steem without branch or leaf being jointed at the distance of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 inches; it retains it's colour which is a deep green through the winter and affords an agreeable and healthy food for both cattle and horses; these I am informed will keep in fine order on them through the winter which, however is never very inte[n]se in this climate. the favorite soil for this plant is a rich loam intermixed with a considerable portion of sand. the oak and poplar land before noticed continues on the Star<sup>d</sup> side for several miles and finally joins the highland which there puts in to the river.— (4) we here kept close to the main shore on Star<sup>d</sup> q<sup>u</sup>—from the best estimate I could make the river appears to be in breadth including Islands from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 miles and the main chanel of it usually  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile wide—this character of the river will apply to it from the mouth of Ohio to this place.

(5) the upper point of this Island is oposite to the uper point of Tywappety bottom, there appears to be a hadsome farm at this point, and here the highland or main shore puts in with a much greater hight of land than we have seen since we began to ascend it appears to be a ridge] pointing obliquely do[w]n the river the hight of it from it's appearance is most probably 100 feet above the level of the bottom.—from the water's edge to the top of the first rise or level of the bottom wass pretty well covered with large rock of many tons weight lying in a loose manner on the serface or but partially bedded in the earth—on the star<sup>d</sup> side I went on shore and soon arrived at some highland, it being not more than 200 paces to the base of the rising ground which rises pretty suddonly to the hight of 100 Feet. the land is of an inferior quality on these hills being a stiff white clay soil.—observed a very fine quarry of white freestone on the Eastern bank of a small run which made into the river, from which the quarry is about half a mile. also observed some large mass of loose rocks nearly at the summits of these hills, these rocks appeared very heard, being formed of such pebbles as common to the river, united together by a strong sceement of fine sand; with a small proportion of earth.—this quality so remarkable and observable in the waters of Ohio of sceementing masses of pebble earth and sand, as also pretrefying vegetable and animal substances exposed to it for a length of time; this quality seems to

be possessed equally by this river; of this I have had many evidences; beside those large masses of canjealed or scemented pebble, I met with several pieces of wood that had been petrified and afterwards worn away by the gravel and the agetatition of the water untill they had become smoth and had the appearance of stone common to runing streams; tho' the grain of the wood was quite distinct. we came too for the night on the star<sup>d</sup> qua<sup>t</sup> and lay upon a slate rock which here formed the beech; this slate appeared to ly in a vain of not more than 2 feet thick and seemed to be of an indifferent quality. one of my men who went out to hunt this morning has not yet come up, had several guns fired to bring him too, and the horns freequently blown but without effect—I have frequently observed among the sand and pebble of the river a substance that resembled *pit-coal* but which evedently is wood that has remained a great length of time berried in the mud of the maid banks of the river, & when these banks are again washed away becomes exposed to view the g[r]ain of the wood is easily persieved as was also the bark of some spesimins I met with which had not so perfectly assumed the coal state; I burnt some of this coal but found it indifferent, nor could I discover while it was berning that it emitted any sulphurious smell.

Course of this day. Nov<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup> 1803

Course	Time	dist.	References &c
N. 20 W.	1. <sup>h</sup> “	“ <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	Pass <sup>d</sup> an Il <sup>d</sup> 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> Long Lard. (1) also another Ild. <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> Long Lard.
N. 30 W.	2.15	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	pass <sup>d</sup> several Iis <sup>ds</sup> Lard & Sta <sup>d</sup> (2)
“ “ “	2.45	3“	continued to pass Is <sup>lds</sup> (3)
“ “ “	2.15	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	pass <sup>d</sup> Isl <sup>d</sup> on Lar <sup>d</sup> <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> (4)
N. 40. W.	“.50	1	up <sup>r</sup> p <sup>t</sup> of Isl <sup>d</sup> Lar <sup>d</sup> (5)
N. 35. W	1.30	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	to a slate rock on Star <sup>d</sup> quarter where we lay
Total.	10.35	13.0	all night here comes in the first highland we have yet met with; and here it maybe said that the drowned land seases on this side the river from whence to the mouth it is of unequal widths from 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> to 10 miles.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup> 1803.

N. Pryor,<sup>1</sup> the man who was hunting yesterday has not yet arrived, had several guns fired again and the horn [b]lown;

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Pryor of Kentucky, one of the four sergeants of the expedition. After its termination he enlisted in the regular army as an ensign, and in the

waited until half after 7 O.C. and then then set out without him. (1) about a mile from the commencement of this course a small creek puts in on the Lar<sup>d</sup> qua<sup>tr</sup> and abot  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile another about the same size puts in on the same side.—(2) this creek puts in on the Star<sup>d</sup> qu<sup>t</sup> nearly oposite the mouth of the last on the Lar<sup>d</sup> qu<sup>tr</sup> on the commencement of this course—these creeks appear to be about the same size and may be recconed from 10 to 15 miles long— $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles from the last creek a large creek puts in on Sta<sup>d</sup> q<sup>tr</sup> oposite to the mouth of this creek a small Is<sup>ld</sup> called *rock Island*. so called from the base of it being formed of a slate rock, there are some willows growing on it—I know no names for these creeks except the last which is called East Lacrush, this creek appeared to be about 40 yards wide at it's mouth and may [be] recconed at 30 miles in length; passing by land from Massac to Cape Jeradeau you cross the waters of this creek; the distance between these two places is about 35 miles through a low lagoon country (3) about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile from the commencement of this course, and just above a bold point which juts in, to the river, on the Lar<sup>d</sup> quarter, a large Creek puts in called Cape Lacrush<sup>1</sup> from the rocky point just mentioned which has obtained that name—this creek is about 25 yards wide at the mouth and may be recconed 30 M. long. we have passed but three Isl<sup>ds</sup> including Rock Island which was the first, a small one on the Lar<sup>d</sup> & one  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Cape Jeradeau which we left on the Star<sup>d</sup> this last is reather a sandbar than & Island some parts of it are covered with *willows* & small *cotton wood*.—This sand-bar discribed was a continuation of an Island about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile long commencing just below Cape Jeradeau and which was hid from my view when I made the foregoing remark with respect to it (4) landed at the cape<sup>2</sup>

War of 1812 attained the rank of captain. Upon the reduction of the army at the close of the war he was honorably discharged from the service. Not much is known concerning his later life.

<sup>1</sup> "Cape Lacrush" appears on Thomas Hutchins' map of 1778 as Cap a la bruche. Thwaites supposes the name to be a corruption of Cape à la Broche (spitlike). *Early Western Travels*, XIV, 95. An alternative name for the point was Cape La Croix (the cross); this alone has survived. Lewis' "Lacrusch Creek" is shown on modern maps as La Croix Creek. Cape La Croix is six miles below the town of Cape Girardeau.

<sup>2</sup> The post of Cape Girardeau was established by the Spanish government in 1793, as a military measure against the threatened attack upon Spanish Louisiana by Western American sympathizers in the cause of the French Revolutionists. This was repressed by the American government, however, General Wayne establishing Fort Massac in 1791 for the purpose. Cape Girardeau

and called on the Command<sup>t</sup> and delivered the letters of introduction which I had for him, from Cap<sup>t</sup> Dan<sup>l</sup> Bisselle,<sup>2</sup> and a M<sup>r</sup> Drewyer a nephew of the Command<sup>ts</sup> sent the boat on with orders to come too for the night at Ol<sup>d</sup> Cape Jeradeau which is a point of land on the Lar<sup>d</sup> about 2 miles distant from the Command<sup>t</sup> tho' this was the first place of his residence on his settling himself in this country which he told me was about eight years since. On my arrival at the Comd<sup>ts</sup> dwelling I was informed that he had gone out with his family to attend a Horse rase he himself being as I afterwards understood a party to the rase—I persued to the rase grown [race ground] found him and delivered him my credentials, he treated me with much politeness in his way; the rase was just over before I reached the grown & the Comd<sup>t</sup> was busied for some time in settling the disputes which had arisen in consequence of odds being given among the[m] by betters: the Comd<sup>ts</sup> horse lost the main rase, but won by six inches the by betts, the odds generally given against him in the by betts was 12 feet; the Comd<sup>t</sup> lost four horses on the rase which had been valued at \$200.—this scene reminded me very much of their small raises in Kentuckey among the uncivilized backwoodsmen, nor did the subsequent disorder which took place in consequence of the decision of the judges of the rase at all

throve exceedingly, becoming in ten years the most prosperous community in Upper Louisiana; although in Spanish territory the population attracted to it consisted chiefly of Americans. It would be difficult to find a more interesting contemporary account of the place than the one which Lewis himself presents.

<sup>1</sup> The commandant, of whom Lewis gives a picturesque description, in the following lines, was Louis Lorimier, the former Ohio trader. Born near Montreal in 1748, he followed his father's calling, and as early as 1769 was trading with the Indians at Pickawillany. During the Revolution he was a violent Tory, and his Ohio trading station became a center of British-Indian intrigue and activity against the American border. In 1778 he led an Indian war party upon a raid into Kentucky and captured and carried into captivity the famous Daniel Boone. In 1782 George Rogers Clark, leading a band of Kentucky raiders against the Indians north of the Ohio, surprised and burned Lorimier's establishment, and the trader himself barely escaped with his life. He never reestablished himself in Ohio; a few years later we find him located among the Spaniards west of the Mississippi. Here he speedily acquired influence and wealth. He died in 1812; his widow later married John Logan, father of Gen. John A. Logan of Civil War fame. For these and further details concerning Lorimier's career see Houck, *Missouri*, II, 169-81.

<sup>2</sup> Capt. Daniel Bissell was at this time in command of Fort Massac. He entered the army in 1791 and became a captain in 1799. During the War of 1812 he attained the rank of brigadier-general. He resigned from the service in 1821 and died at St. Louis in 1833.

lessen the resemblance; one fellow contrary to the decision of the judges swore he had won, & was carrying off not only his own horse but that also of his competitor; but the other being the stoutest of the two dismounted him and took both horses in turn; it is not extrawdinary that these people should be disorderly they are almost entirely emigrants from the fronteers of Kentuckey & Tennessee, and are the most dessolute and abandoned even among these people; they are men of desperate fortunes, but little to loose either character or property—they bett very high on these raises in proportion to their wealth; it is not uncommon for them to risk the half or even the whole of their personal property on a single wager; their property consists principally in Horses and black Cattle; the Com<sup>dt</sup> seemed to bear his loss with much cheerfullness. a son of his immediately made another rase for \$600. these people have some specie among them, but their circulating medium is principally Horses, Cattle, Cotton & lead—Horses from 50 to 200\$. Cattle from 8 to 10\$, Cotton & lead are less fluctuating in their prices, the former is estimated a[t] \$100 a Ton and the latter at \$80 p<sup>r</sup> Ton—this settlement was commenced by the present Com<sup>dt</sup> eight years since, with one other family, about 2 years after it began to form prety rapidly from the encouragement given the settlers by the Spanish government it has now increased to the number of 1,111 persons, they are allowed a bounty in lands proportioned to the number of their respective familys which are called head rights; this land is entered, surveyed and recorded by the clerk<sup>1</sup> of the Comd<sup>t</sup> which may or may not be confirmed by the Crown of Spain wich however is necessary to complete the title.—The Com<sup>dt</sup> is Canadian by birth of French extraction; he was on[c]e a very considerable trader among the Shawnees & Delewares; About the year 1781 a party under the command of Gen<sup>l</sup> George Rogers Clark of Kentuckey burnt the Store of this man—which stood at the mouth of a small creek a branch of the East branch of the Great Miami of the Ohio which still bears the name of Lorimier, which has since become more remarkable as it forms one point in the boundary line between the N. Western

<sup>1</sup> Lorimier's secretary, Barthélemi Cousin, was deputy surveyor of the district and interpreter. "He was a man of education, of linguistic attainments, master of the German, French, and Spanish languages and many Indian tongues \* \* \* Nearly all the immigrants who came from the east side of the river to Cape Girardeau district applied to him to write their petitions for permission to settle and requêtes for land." Houck, *Missouri*, II, 180.

tribes and the U. S. made with them at Greenville[e] by Gen<sup>l</sup> Wayne in the year 1795—the value of the property Lorimier lost on this occasion is estimated at 20 thousand dollars; this broke him as a merch<sup>t</sup> but he seems to have entirely recovered his losses, and is now a man of very considerable property; he is a man about 5. F 8 I high, dark skin hair and [e]yes; he is remarkable for having once had a remarkable suit of hair; he was very cheerfull & I took occasion to mention this to him he informed me that it was on[e] so long that it touched the gro[u]nd when he stood erect—nor was it much less remarkable for it's thickness; this I could readily believe from it's present appearance, he is about 60 years of age, and yet scarcely a grey hair in his head; which reaches now when cewed (the manner in which he dresses it) nearly as low as his knees, and it is proportionably thick; he appears yet quite active—this uncommon cue falls dow[n] his back to which it is kept close by means of a leather gerdle confined around his waist—this man agreeable to the custom of many of the Canadian Traders has taken to himself a wife from among the aborigines of the country his wife<sup>1</sup> is a Shawnee woman, from her complexion is half blooded only. she is a very desent woman and if we may judge from her present appearance has been very handsome when young, she dresses after the Shawnee manner with a stroud leggings and mockinsons, differing however from them in her linin which seemed to be drawn beneath the gerdle of her stroud, as also a short Jacket with long sleeves over her linin—with long sleeves more in the stile of the French Canadian women; by this woman Lorimier has a large family of very handsome Children three of which have attained the age of puberty;<sup>2</sup> the daughter is remarkably handsom[e] & dresses in a

<sup>1</sup> She died Mar. 23, 1808. Upon her tomb in the old Cape Girardeau cemetery is a Latin inscription which Houck (*Missouri*, II, 179) thus renders in English:

“She lived the noblest matron of the Shawanoe race,  
And native dignity covered her as does this slab.  
She chose nature as her guide to virtue.  
And with nature as her leader spontaneously followed good,  
As the olive, the pride of the grove, without the planter's care,  
Yearly brings its fruit to perfection.”

<sup>2</sup> Two of Lorimier's sons were appointed cadets at West Point by President Jefferson in 1804; one of the two, Louis Jr., graduated in 1806, and served in the army for three years thereafter upon the western frontier. He resigned from the army in 1809 and died in 1831. According to Charles K. Gardner (*Dictionary of All Officers \* \* \* in the Army of the United States \* \* \** New York, 1860) he was killed by the Indians.

plain yet fashionable stile or such as is now Common in the Atlantic States among the respectable people of the middle class. she is an agreeable affible girl, & much the most descent looking feemale I have seen since I left the settlement in Kentuckey a little below Louisville.—The Comd<sup>t</sup> pressed me to stay to supper which I did, the lady of the family presided, and with much circumspection performed the honours of the table: supper being over which was really a comfortable and desent one I bid the family an affectionate adieu; the Comd<sup>t</sup> had a Couple of horses paraded, and one of his sons conducted me to Old Cape Jeradeau, the distance by the rout we went was 3 miles here I found my boat and people landed for the night. found Capt. Clark very unwell. The district of Commandant Lorimier estends from the grand bend of the Mississippi to Apple River without limitation back<sup>1</sup> this settlement extends the distance of sixty miles W. from the river as far as the river S<sup>t</sup> Francis. West from Cape Jeredeau about 16 Miles is a large settlement of duch descendants who have emigrated from the Atlantic States;<sup>2</sup> these people here preserve their uniform character, of temperate laborious and honest people, they have erected two grist mills and a saw-mill—The estimated distance by the french watermen to New Cape Jer<sup>d</sup> is 42 Miles from the mouth of Ohio.—the old cape is 2 Miles dist<sup>t</sup> bearing N. 10 E.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>d</sup>

Course	Time	dist.	References
	h m	miles	
N. 30. W.	" 50	2	Creek Lar <sup>d</sup> 1 Mile Creek Lar <sup>d</sup> $\frac{3}{4}$ (1)
N. 3. W.	" 45	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	Cr <sup>k</sup> Sta <sup>d</sup> oposite last. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ C <sup>k</sup> (2)
N. 50. W.	2.30	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$ large creek (3)
N. 43. W.	3.15	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	New Cape Jeradeau (4)
N. 10. E.	1.15	2	Old Cape D <sup>o</sup> — staid all night on Lar <sup>d</sup> qu <sup>tr</sup>
	8.35	13	

Nov<sup>r</sup> 24<sup>th</sup>

Set out this morning at 7. OC. as we were bearing off, Pryor the man who had been absent and lost for the last two days hailed, we passed the river and took him in he was much fatigued with his wandering and somewhat indisposed—(1) The

<sup>1</sup> On the boundaries of the district of Cape Girardeau see Houck, *Missouri*, II, 167.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of this German settlement on White Water River see *ibid.*, II, 188.



highland which sets in at Cape Jeredeau continues with small intervals of low Land on that side of the river, the other appearing low and subject to be overflowed for a considerable distance say 2 or three miles—(2) this Isl<sup>d</sup> is not considerable,—came too on the sandbar at the upper point of it and took Meridian Altitude of  $\odot^s$  L. L. with Sex<sup>t</sup> found it  $64^\circ 50' 30''$  Error of sex<sup>t</sup> as usual—(4) the main shore has been generally bold on the Lar<sup>d</sup> quar<sup>t</sup> all day but here putts in some high cliffs the summits of which are crowned with pitch-pine & seeder. these rocks are nearly perpendicular in many places sixty feet, and the height of the hills appear to be about 120 feet above the bank which forms their base of perhaps 15 or 18 feet tho from appearance they never over flow. the rock which compose these cliffs is a singular one tho' not uncommon to this country, it is a Limestone principally, but inbedded in this stone there are detached pieces of a stone resembling flint of yellowish brown colour which appear at some former period to have been worn smother and assume different shapes and sizes as the pebbles of running streams usually do tho now firmly united and forming a portion of the solid mass of this rock—many parts of the rock has also a considerable portion of grit or sand in it's composition tho' I was informed at Cape Jeradeau where the same rock appears, that it makes very good lime—I am not confident with respect to the accuracy of the observation of this day, in consequence of some flying clouds which frequently intervened and obscured his disk about noon and oblige me frequently to change the coloured glasses of the Sextant in order to make the Observation as complete as possible.

Course	Time	dist.	references. &c
24 <sup>th</sup>			
N. 50. E.	3.30	4.	$\frac{1}{4}$ to lower p <sup>t</sup> of Isl <sup>d</sup> 2 M. Long St <sup>d</sup> (1)
N. Due	" 45	1. $\frac{3}{4}$	1 Mil. to Sand bar Lar <sup>d</sup> q <sup>tr</sup> (2)
N. 22. W.	2. 5	2. $\frac{1}{2}$	pass <sup>d</sup> Isl <sup>d</sup> $\frac{3}{4}$ Long Lar <sup>d</sup> (3)
N. 20. W.	2.15	1. $\frac{3}{4}$	To rocky bar (4) staid all night
Total	8.35	10	

25<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>

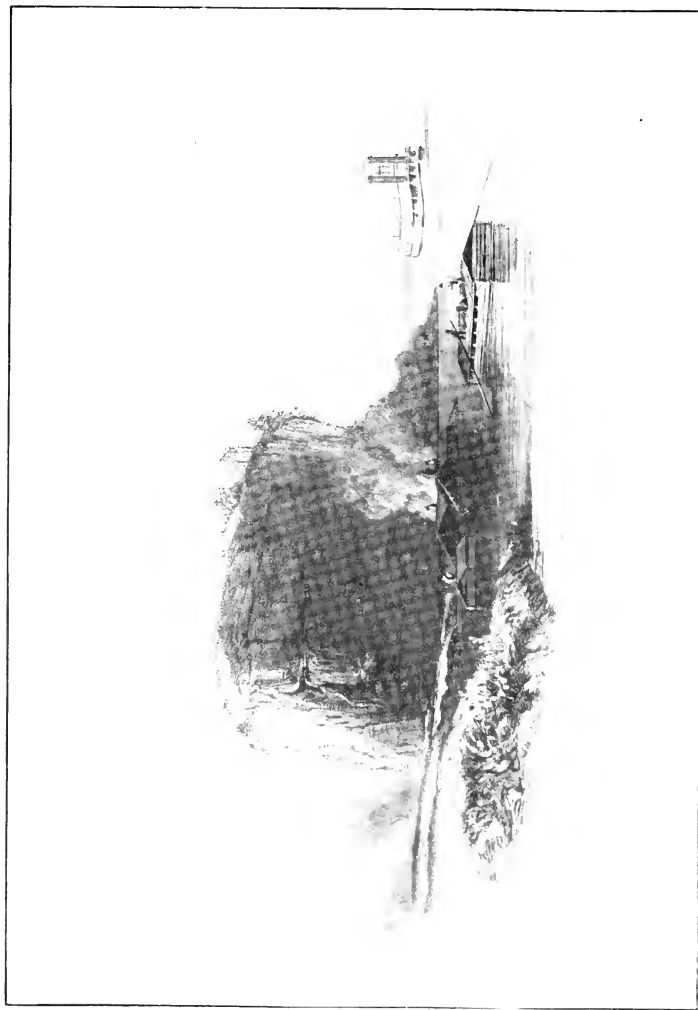
Set out this morning half after 6 OC<sup>lk</sup> the coast on the Lar<sup>d</sup> qu<sup>t</sup> was higher than yesterday. the rock rising perpendicularly from the water's edge in many places & in others rather projecting than otherwise, it is the same rock described yesterday with a larger portion of flint: the flint appears to lie in strata yet rather

divided by the *limestone* even in those stratas, they appear to be from six inches to a foot asunder, all the stone of whatever discription which I have observed in this country appere to lye in horizontal stratas except where they have been evedently been forced or removed from their original beds by the courant of the river on which they border—(1) several small streams put in but not sufficently large to deserve any particular notice the country still appears high with small intervals of low land on the Lar<sup>d</sup> quarter, that on the Star<sup>d</sup> is low and appears to overflow in high water but how far I had not an opertunity to inform myself—(2) passed a small creek on Lar<sup>d</sup> q<sup>r</sup> just above which were some Shawnee huts and tents. (3)  $1\frac{3}{4}$  from hence Apple river puts in on Lar<sup>d</sup> q<sup>r</sup> here we came too and *I took the Meridian Alt<sup>d</sup>* of Sun's L. L. which was  $64^{\circ} 12' 30''$  the Error of sex<sup>t</sup> as usual—this is the most considerable stream I have yet met with; it falls in just above a large flat rock now visible but conscealed in high water; it is about 41 yards in width at it's mouth from bank to bank, but vends very little water at this moment, tho' navigable in high water several miles; this as well as most of the creeks and rivers of inferior magnitude which put into the Mississippi appear much more inconsiderable than they really are; the cause is *this*—The Mississippi when full throws large quantitys of mud into the mouths of these rivers whose courents not being equal to contend with it's power become still or eddy for many miles up them the mud is thus deposited and as they are but comparatively short their courents subside before that of the Mississippi which when it dose subside and leave them free to act they have so small a quantity of water to discharge that it finds it's way to the river in a very small channel which it cuts through this mud; thus in a manner concealing their magnitude from the passanger along the main river—The Apple River extends a considerable distance back in the country say 40 or 50 miles & heads with the waters of the S<sup>t</sup> Francis's River.<sup>1</sup> on this stream about 7 miles from it's mouth, is a settlement of *Shawnees*, which more than any other in this quarter deserves the name of a *village*.<sup>2</sup> I could not ascertain their number. Oposite the mouth of this river and conscealed

<sup>1</sup> Lewis is mistaken in this statement. Apple Creek is a smaller stream than this, and between its source and the St. Francis the upper course of White Water River intervenes.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of this village see Houck, *Missouri*, I, 213–16.





GRAND TOWER, OR TOWER ROCK

From Maximilian, Prince of Wied's *Travels*

by a small Island on the Star<sup>d</sup> q<sup>tr</sup> Muddy River<sup>1</sup> falls in—this is also called *Cow River*, or River Avaise, it is navigable thirty or forty Miles in high water; and heads in extensive plains with the Saline of the Ohio and the Little Wabash a branch of the Great Wabash—there are many fine mines of *pitt* Coal on this stream, and one not far from its mouth whence boats ascend in common and high tide are loaded with and transport it [to] the Saline on W. of Mississippi and to Kaskaskias & elsewhere for the use of the blacksmiths and other artizans—above the Island at the mouth of this river and on the same side there is another small Island close in to the main land which still continues low on that hand—the shore and land on the Lar<sup>d</sup> is still high with cliffs of the limestone rock covered with scattering pine & seeder, some oak Hickory &c. Arrived at the *Grand Tower* a little before sunset, passed above it and came to on on the Lar<sup>d</sup> shore for the night. a discription of this place will be given in my journal tomorrow.<sup>2</sup> This seems among the watermen of the Mississippi to be what the tropics or Equanoxial line is with regard to the sailors; those who have never passed it before are always compelled to pay or furnish some sperits to drink or be ducked.

Course	Time	dist.	References &c.
N. 50. W.	1	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	To mouth of Cr <sup>k</sup> Lar <sup>d</sup> q <sup>tr</sup> (1)
N. 20. W.	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Creek Lar <sup>d</sup> 10 M. Long (2)
N. 11. E.	1.15	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	To Apple river Lar <sup>d</sup> (3)
N. 10. W.	2	2	To the grand tower (4)
Total	7.15	9	

The Country from Cape Jeredeau has been pretty generally high and bold on the Lar<sup>d</sup> and the reverse on the Star<sup>d</sup> qua<sup>tr</sup> at this place the high land approaches the river equally on both side. a mile and  $\frac{1}{4}$  below the G. Tower on the lar<sup>d</sup> qu<sup>tr</sup> is a large bank of white clay that appears to be excellent *Spanis whiting*, tho' it has a considerable portion of grit in it.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 26<sup>th</sup>

Set out this morning at half after six. (1) throughout the whole of this course the land lys high on the Sta<sup>d</sup> q<sup>tr</sup> and soon becomes

<sup>1</sup> More commonly called the Big Muddy, which is the English rendering of the French designation *Rivière au Vase*. It is formed by the union of two branches rising in Jefferson County, Ill., and is 140 miles in length.

<sup>2</sup> For other descriptions of the Grand Tower see *Early Western Travels*, XIV, 96–98, XXVI, 89–90.

low on the Lar<sup>d</sup> and continues so to the end of the course, on the Star<sup>d</sup> the land rises into a fine bold looking range of hills 250 feet high which run parallel with the river—(2) Oposite to this stone quarry, is the upper point of *Rat Island*. a small Island, of an oval form about the center of the river, the channel being near lar<sup>d</sup> shore; came too at a stone bar a little above the rock and took Meridian Alt<sup>d</sup> of ☉'s L. L. found it 63° 34' " Error of sextant as usual this observation may be depended upon for it's accuracy to a single second. the hills now are near the river on the Lar<sup>d</sup> and the land is low on the Star<sup>d</sup> qu<sup>r</sup>—there is a range of hills which run near, and prallel to the river on Lar<sup>d</sup> qu<sup>r</sup> quite to Cape S<sup>t</sup> Combs<sup>1</sup>—The river from the Grand Tower upwards bears N. 5. W. below it bears S. 20. E. the extreem of the bason S. 30 W. The sugarloaf point or nobb S. 25. E. Hight of rock which forms the grand Tower is 92 Feet On the W. side and about 25 feet up this rock is limestone & the same quality of the cliffs heretofore discribed (i e) intermixed with a considerable portion of *Flint stone*. When the river is high the courent setts in with great violence on the W. side of this rock and being confined on that by a range of high hills is drven with much impetuosity through a narrow channel formed by the rock which composes this rock, and one which forms the base of the *Sugar-loaf* point, this courent meets the other portion of the river which runs E. of the Tower and on the Towerside in an obtuse angle; these strong courents thus meeting each other form an immence and dangerous whirlpool which no boat dare approach in that state of the water; the counter courent dividing with great force against the E. side of the rock would instantly dash them to attoms and the whirlpool would as quickly take them to the botom. In the present state of the water there [is] no danger in approaching it I asscend it yesterday evening & measured the hight of it by cord on the S. E. point, from whence I also took the bearings of the river bason &c. as above noticed. the passage through this difficult pass of the Mississippi in high water is on the E. side of the river to the point which it forms on that side with the high-land where stands a large rock, thence across the river above the Tower to the Lar<sup>d</sup> Shoar; but in low water the nearest and most convenient

<sup>1</sup> Modern Cape Cinque Hommes, in Perry County, Mo. This is a corruption of the original name, St. Cosme, of which Lewis seems to give a phonetic spelling. It was named for the Canadian Seminary priest, Jean François de St. Cosme, who made a voyage, by way of Lake Michigan and the Illinois River, to the lower Mississippi in the winter of 1698-99.

passage is the rout we took close arond the E. side of the G. Tower. —A ridge of Hills 200 feet high make across the river at this place; and the G<sup>d</sup> Tower as well as the *sugar loaf* point as also a *rock* detached from both these and likewise the hills, on either side of the bason all appear once to have formed a part of the range of hills which cross the Mississippi at this place, and which in the course of time have been broken down by the river—the last mentioned *rock* is detached from the hills about 400 yards, and about 300 from the sugar loaf point; the rock thus detached measures 120 Yards in circumpherence at it's base, and is 40 feet in hight perpendicular; it's sides shew the water marks, and is so steep there is no possibility of asscending it without artificial aid.—There is a most beautifull and commanding view from the summit of the *sugarloaf point*; it commands the top of the grand Tower about 60 feet and overlooks the low surrounding country; the view of the river above is particularly beautifull; as well as the rang[e] of hills which appear to the E. & stretching from the river below; from S. to N.—(1) this Creek is not very considerable but may be reckoned 10 or 12 miles in length, *no name*.—

continuation of Note (2) this stone appears to possess excellent grit for *grind stones*; tho' the rock on the upper part of the hill is a *lime stone* such as appears common to those hills which border on the river, the country is high on the Lard q<sup>tr</sup>

Nov<sup>r</sup> 26<sup>th</sup>

Cou[r]se	Time	distance	references &
	h m	miles	
N. 5 W.	2.40	4. $\frac{1}{2}$	To Creek Star <sup>d</sup> (1)
N. 70. W.	1.20	1. $\frac{1}{2}$	To Grindstone quarry Lar <sup>d</sup> (2)
" " "	5.10	3. $\frac{3}{4}$	To uper point of small Isl <sup>d</sup> Lard q <sup>tr</sup>
" " "	“.20	" $\frac{1}{4}$	To Lar <sup>d</sup> Shore where we staid all night <sup>1</sup>
Total	9.30	10.	

Nov<sup>r</sup> 27<sup>th</sup>

Set out this morning before sunrise—(1)  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile to the mouth of this river it is about 18 yards wide at it's mouth and affords but little water at this moment tho' I am informed that there is a handsome settlement on it & that in high water it [is] navi-gable many miles, it heads with the waters of the Saline of Mis-sissippi & the S<sup>t</sup> Francis rivers—

<sup>1</sup> In Jackson County, Ill., ten miles above Grand Tower.

(2) This is a low point of rocks forming the extremity of a range of hills which have continued on our Lar<sup>d</sup> quarter for a considerable distance the Creek of the same name which puts in just above it is 20 miles in length and has a considerable number of inhabitants on it, and as many as three gristmills.—

(3) at the lower point of this Il<sup>d</sup> I came too and took Meridian Altitudes of ☉<sup>s</sup> L. L.; found it 62° 54' 30" Error of Sextant 8' 45"

Course	Time	dist.	
N. 70. W.	1.	$\frac{3}{4}$	To river Ameal. Lar <sup>d</sup> q <sup>tr</sup> (1)
" " "	1.	$\frac{3}{4}$	To Cape S <sup>t</sup> Comes Lar <sup>d</sup> (2)
N. 21. E.	10	$\frac{1}{2}$	To mouth of creek Lar <sup>d</sup> of the same name.
" " "	1.15	1.1 $\frac{1}{4}$	To large Is <sup>ld</sup> Lard.
N. 50. W.	2.20	2.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	To Isl <sup>d</sup> Lar <sup>d</sup> (3)
" " "	2.	3.	wind served us here
N. 44 W.	10	$\frac{1}{4}$	Is <sup>ld</sup> Stard q <sup>tr</sup>
" " "	1.40	3.	To upper p <sup>t</sup> of parrarie Lard
N. 50 W.	45	1.1 $\frac{1}{4}$	Come too for the night at Lower p <sup>t</sup> of Is <sup>ld</sup> Lard. qutr
		10.20	13

Nov<sup>r</sup> 28<sup>th</sup>

This morning left Capt Clark in charge of the Boat<sup>1</sup>  
November 28<sup>th</sup>

Set out this morning at 8 oClock from the lower point of the horse Island, which Island is Setuated opposit the Mouth of Kaskaskies River Commonly Called *Aucau* Creek<sup>2</sup>—passed the Mouth said River at half passed 8 oClock—the high lands make near the Mississippi below the Mouth of said River, a bold and rocky Shore This Morning being verry Smokey pres[v]ents my being as acurate as I could wish—passed a Small Creek on the Larb<sup>d</sup> Side near the point of a ridge [of] high Land makeing to the river—This Creek heads but a fiew miles from the river,

<sup>1</sup> From Kaskaskia to St. Louis, Lewis journeyed overland, leaving Clark in charge of the boat and the journal. The remainder of the journal, therefore, is to be attributed to the latter. At this point in the manuscript seven blank pages ensue, then four pages of astronomical observations (not reproduced here) taken by Clark on the Mississippi, three miles west of Kaskaskia, then five more blank pages.

<sup>2</sup> Opposite Horse Island is the town of Chester, Ill. "Aucau" is one of numerous spellings intended to represent the French "Au Kas." For an explanation of the use of this term see H. R. Schoolcraft, *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1825), 214.



at 1 oClock passed *Donohoes* Landing on the Larb<sup>d</sup> side, this landing is the place that Boats receive salt from the Saline Licks which is one mile and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles SW from the River, and is worked at present to great advantage, passed the Mouth of the Saline Creek at at three oClock, this Creek mouthes behind an Island This Creek has a thick settlement on its waters, at the time I passed this Creek the horozon became darkened that I could not see across the River, which appeared to widened, and the Current much swifter than usial Passed an Island on the Larb<sup>d</sup> side, also one on the Starb<sup>d</sup> side abov[e] that on the Larb<sup>d</sup> and after passing some verry swift water which was conf<sup>d</sup> between sand bars, I arrived at the Landing opposit Old S<sup>t</sup> Genevie<sup>1</sup> (or [word illegible])

Nov<sup>r</sup> 29<sup>th</sup>

Course	Time	Distance	Reference
	h	ms.	
S. 50° W.	1.30	$3\frac{1}{4}$	Pass <sup>d</sup> the upper point of the Island, high banks above Lbd. Side
S. 63. W.	0.50	$1\frac{3}{4}$	high bank Lbd. Side a Small Isld Stbd. Side.
N. 52. W.	2.27	3.0	Donohoos ferry, a high p <sup>t</sup> on Lb <sup>d</sup> Side (2)
N. 24. W.	2.45	$3.\frac{3}{4}$	To po <sup>t</sup> on Stb <sup>d</sup> side an Island, opt. an Island (3)
North	3.0	3.	To the Landing above the Isl'd opposit Missar & Kaskaskus
	10.32	$14.\frac{3}{4}$	

[One and one half pages blank]

Dec<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> Set out from the landing at half passed 4 oClock passed an Island near the Middle of the River the lower point within three quaters of a Mile, came to on the Larb<sup>d</sup> side after Dark

Course	Distance
N. 70° W.	3 Miles

December 4<sup>th</sup>

Set out this morning before sunrise, at  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile passed the

<sup>1</sup> "Old Ste. Genevieve" was the oldest permanent settlement in Upper Louisiana. Although definite records are lacking, it is supposed to date from about 1730. The original site of the town, to which Clark, apparently, here refers, was abandoned by the inhabitants in the period 1784-91, because of the inroads made upon it by the river. The earliest American residents of the place were John and Israel Dodge, the latter the father of Gov. Henry Dodge of Wisconsin. For a comprehensive account of Ste. Genevieve see Houck, *Missouri*, I, 337-62.

mouth of a Small Creek Called Gabia,<sup>1</sup> at the mouth of this Creek is the landing place for the Tradeing Boats of St Genevieve, a small town situated on the Spurs of the high land at  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile distant nearly South This Village contains (as I am informed) about 120 families,<sup>2</sup> principally French,—above the mouth of this Creek the high lands approach the river, several French families are settled near the banks, above the Creek, opposit the this settlement and above the upper Point of the Island a Creek mouths on the Starb<sup>d</sup> side (2) at  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a Mile above Gabia Creek the highlands juts to the river and form a most tremendous Clift of rocks near the commencement of this Clift I saw a cave, the mouth of which appeared to be about 12 feet Diameeter, and about 70 foot above the Water. (3) at 2 miles passed the mouth of a Small Creek on the Larb<sup>d</sup> side opposit the upper point of a small Island; and lower point of a large Isl<sup>d</sup> situated opposit Old fort *Charters*<sup>3</sup> (4) came to on the lower point of a Small Isl<sup>d</sup> Lb<sup>d</sup> side immediately opposit the Old Fort and took (tho' not as accurate as I could wish) Meridian altitude of  $\odot$  L. L. found it  $59^{\circ} 58' 0$  opposit this Island close on the Larb<sup>d</sup> side is an Island ab<sup>e</sup>  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile long, at 1 oClock passed the upper Point of Ft Chartes Isle: from this point I had a view of two side[s] of the Fort, which at the distance of about 2 miles and a half [two lines blank in Ms.] The chanel which forms the Island next to the Fort is entirely-dry, and appears to be filling up with Sand and Mud, the River at this place is wider, and remarkably streight washing the base of the clifts of the high land of about 250 feet above the surfice of the River,—Pass several small Creeks on the Larb<sup>d</sup> side, came to on the lower point of an Island near the Larb<sup>d</sup> side and opposit a large Creek on the Starb<sup>d</sup> Side

<sup>1</sup> Gabaree or Gabourie Creek, probably named for an early settler. The oldest extant document relating to Old Ste. Genevieve is a bill of sale for a house and lot made by Laurent Gabourie in 1751. Houck, *Missouri*, I, 339.

<sup>2</sup> As early as 1769 the population of the town was estimated at 600. Houck, *Missouri*, I, 340. The *Navigator* (1811 ed.) describes it as a town of 200 houses, with 1,200 or 1,400 inhabitants, but notes that since the cession of Louisiana an influx of Americans had occurred.

<sup>3</sup> Fort Chartres was the most important fortification built by the French in the interior of the continent. Originally established as a stockade post in 1720, it was rebuilt of stone on a vastly enlarged scale in 1756. It was the last point in New France to be delivered over to the conquering English. The tenure of the fort by the latter proved brief, however, the inroads of the Mississippi compelling its abandonment in 1772. At the time of Clark's visit, the fort was in ruins. For a charming narrative of old Fort Chartres see E. G. Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History* (Chicago, 1901), 212–19.

Course	December 4 <sup>th</sup>		Remark <sup>a</sup> referen <sup>ces</sup>
	Time	Distance	
	h m	h	
N. 60° W.	0.42	1. $\frac{3}{4}$	To p <sup>t</sup> on Lb <sup>d</sup> side ps <sup>d</sup> up <sup>r</sup> p <sup>t</sup> Isl <sup>d</sup> of 3 miles long (1)
N. 50° W.	0.57	1. $\frac{1}{2}$	To the p <sup>t</sup> on Stb <sup>d</sup> side a clift of Rock on Lb <sup>d</sup> side (2)
N. 43° W.	5.54	13. $\frac{1}{4}$	To p <sup>t</sup> of an Ild. Lb <sup>d</sup> side p <sup>d</sup> cave Lb <sup>d</sup> 2 Isl: Lb <sup>d</sup> side (3) ps <sup>d</sup> Isl: Stb <sup>d</sup> Ft. Charters
N. 38° W.	1.38	2. $\frac{3}{4}$	(4)—To p <sup>t</sup> of Isl Lb <sup>d</sup> side a creek on Stbd. side near opposit
	9.11	19. $\frac{1}{4}$	

December the 5<sup>th</sup>

Set out this morning before sunrise, passed the upper point [of] the Island. at two miles In this Course I observed (1) several Caves, also a number of Indented Arches of deferent sises in the Clifts on the Larb<sup>d</sup> side, which gave a verry romanteck appearance<sup>1</sup> we passed several small creeks on the Larb<sup>d</sup> side in this course—I came to at the lower point of a large sand bar, forming an Island on the Starb<sup>d</sup> side, and took Meredien altitude of ☉<sup>s</sup> L. L. and found it 59° 37' 30"—Error of Sext<sup>n</sup> as usial. (2) passed between two Islands, of about one mile in length, one near the Center of the River and the other close to the Larb<sup>d</sup> side hideing the mouth of a large Creek called Platea; (3) which is a streen suficient large to aford Water for Mills (several of which are now established on the creek) at all seasons. The Emegrent americans are Settled verry thick up this creek as also, on one we passed about four miles above called Swachen Creek,<sup>2</sup> those Creeks head with the waters of the River S<sup>t</sup> Francies—at the mouths of those Creeks is the first settlements on the River above S<sup>t</sup> Genevieve, (4) I came to on Lb<sup>d</sup> side for the men to eate Dinner above a rock forming a worf into the river 200 feet as the Current of the river sets imedeately against this rock, we had some difecuelty

<sup>1</sup> The *Navigator* describes this portion of the river bank as of "majestick appearance." "It is a continued rock of limestone, rising from the base, declining step by step to the height of 2 or 300 feet; the steps or ledges not more than 6 inches deep, and appear as if cut by the chisel \* \* \*"

<sup>2</sup> Probably modern Joachim Creek, at the mouth of which is Herculaneum, laid out in 1808 by Moses Austin (for whom Austin, Tex., was named) and Samuel Hammond. For an account of the American settlers on the Platean and the Joachim see Houck, *Missouri*, I, 379–80. One of the inhabitants on the Platean at the time of Clark's visit was Thomas Carlin, father of Governor Carlin of Illinois.

in passing it—this Rock appears to be Composed of Grit well calculated for Grind Stones—about half a mile above Swachen Crk on the Starbord side is the mouth of the Leagle, a Creek running from Bell fontain 12 miles distant from its mouth, passing thro a thick settlement of Americans in all its course<sup>1</sup>—at the mouth of this Creek I intended to land and take in some Provisions which was to be delivered to me at this place—by enquiry I was Informed (by M<sup>r</sup> Blean the Owner of the place) that no provisions had arrived but “expected it every minute.” the water being shole I proceeded on half a Mile above the landing, and came to for the night—The distance from Kaskaskies to this place is Called 37 miles by water The high Lands which sets in opposit S<sup>t</sup> Genevieve continues with small intervalles of Low Land on that side of the Mississippi, the other appearing low and Subject to be Overflowed

Course	Time	The Courses & <sup>e</sup> December 5 <sup>th</sup>	
		Dist <sup>a</sup>	referrences & rmk <sub>s</sub>
	h m	miles	
N 44° W	3.40	7. $\frac{1}{2}$	To mo: of Plate Creek on Lb <sup>d</sup> side passing a p <sup>t</sup> on Stb <sup>d</sup> side. pas <sup>sd</sup> the upr. p <sup>t</sup> of Is <sup>d</sup> on which we camped at 2 miles. ps <sup>d</sup> 3 sm <sup>l</sup> creeks in this course (1)
N 26° W.	4.0	5. $\frac{3}{4}$	To p <sup>t</sup> on Stb <sup>d</sup> side at the Mouth of the Leagle. ps <sup>d</sup> sand bar on stb <sup>d</sup> side (2) p <sup>d</sup> betwn. 2 Is: of Plate creek Lb <sup>d</sup> side (3) ps <sup>d</sup> Swachen creek Lb <sup>d</sup> side (4) p <sup>d</sup> Leagle Cr:
N. 12° W.	0.22	$\frac{1}{2}$	To a sand bar about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile below an Isl <sup>d</sup> on Stb <sup>d</sup> Side.
	8.2	13. $\frac{3}{4}$	

December 6<sup>th</sup> at the Mo. of the Leagle. A Dark wet morning. I was informed this morning that Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis pass'd by this place yesterday on his way to S<sup>t</sup> Louis, accompanied by an Officer—I Set out this morning at 11 oClock, after recieving a Small Supply of Provisions on Board; (1) passed a Becaue [bayou] which comu- nicates with Leagle Creek. (2) passed the Lower Point of the first Island at  $\frac{1}{2}$  a Mile also the upper point at 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  miles, a small creek of runing Water opposite the Larb<sup>d</sup> side. Passed a Small Isl<sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The creek is shown on modern maps as Eagle Creek. By the French it was known as L'Aigle Creek, of which Clark's designation seems to be a corruption. Bellefontaine, in modern Monroe County, was a center of American settlement, composed of former soldiers of George Rogers Clark's army and others.

near the middle of the river nearly opposite the upper point of the last on the Larb<sup>d</sup> side of this Island the current is very swift, setting immediately against the high lands, which terminates in a Bluff at the river (3) pass'd a small Creek of running water on the Larb<sup>d</sup> Side, above the last Island (4) pass'd the mouth of a small creek Lb<sup>d</sup> side called little Lit<sup>l</sup> Rock Creek, several settlements are formed on this creeks also on the River above its mouth (5) passed two Islands on the Larb<sup>d</sup> Side, one of those Islands large and lies near the main shore the Other Very Small with a large sand bar.—the head of those two Isl<sup>d</sup>s are immediately below the Meremeck River<sup>1</sup> (6) passed the Mouth of the Merrenek and came to at a farm  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile above, this River is about 110 yards wide at its mouth. [one-half page blank in Ms.]

## Courses of the river &amp;c

December 6<sup>th</sup>

Course	Time	Distance	Remk <sup>s</sup> & References
N. 12° W.	h m 1.42	m 3. $\frac{1}{4}$	To the up <sup>r</sup> p <sup>t</sup> of a sm: Isl: in the mid: River ps <sup>d</sup> a Bio: Stb <sup>d</sup> side. (1) ps <sup>d</sup> an Is <sup>d</sup> 2m: long. (2) ps <sup>d</sup> a sm. s <sup>d</sup> in mid: river & creek Lb <sup>d</sup> side.
N. 10° E.	1.12	3. $\frac{3}{4}$	To a p <sup>t</sup> on Lb <sup>d</sup> Side (3) ps <sup>d</sup> a sm <sup>l</sup> Creek Lb <sup>d</sup> side ab <sup>o</sup> the last Island
N. 33° E.	1.42	2. $\frac{3}{4}$	To a p <sup>t</sup> on Stb <sup>d</sup> side n <sup>l</sup> y opposit the mo: of the Meremeck River (4) ps <sup>d</sup> sm: Cr: on Lb <sup>d</sup> side & 2 fms above (5) ps <sup>d</sup> 2 Is <sup>d</sup> Lb <sup>d</sup> side
N. 31° E.	0.47	1.	To a p <sup>t</sup> on Lb <sup>d</sup> side (6) Ps <sup>d</sup> the Meremeck and come to at a farm for the night.
	5.23	10. $\frac{3}{4}$	

December the 7<sup>th</sup>

A Dark rainy morning with hard wind at N. E. from which point it blew all the last night accompany<sup>d</sup> with rain—Set out a quarter past 7 oClock, the wing[d] much against us (1) passed a small Island near the middle of the river: about 10 oClock the wind changed to the S. E. and gave us an opportunity to Sailing (2) pass'd an Island on the Starb<sup>d</sup> Side, at 12 oClock the wind was so violent as to take off one of the Mast's (3) passed a Small Village above the Mouth of a large Creek, This Village is Called

<sup>1</sup> The Meramec is an important river of eastern Missouri. It rises in Dent County and flows in a general northeasterly direction. Its name is of Indian origin, and is said to mean "catfish."

Viele Pauche<sup>1</sup> and Contains [blank space in Ms.] families of French Situated about about 4 miles below S<sup>t</sup> Louis on the same side. The high land continues to day on the Larb<sup>d</sup> side, I came to at 3 oClock at the Kohokia Landing, which is at the Mouth of Kohokia Creek  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile from the Town,<sup>2</sup> and in view of S<sup>t</sup> Louis which is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles distant.

Course	Dec <sup>r</sup> 7 <sup>th</sup> Course Distance & <sup>e</sup> of the River		
	Time	Distance	Remk <sup>s</sup> & referenc <sup>e</sup>
	h m		
N. 31° E.	1.45	2.0	To a p <sup>t</sup> on Lb <sup>d</sup> side, pass <sup>d</sup> several sand bars.
N. 20° E.	2.40	3. $\frac{1}{2}$	To a p <sup>t</sup> on Lb <sup>d</sup> side pass <sup>e</sup> a small Isle: (1) pass <sup>d</sup> an Is <sup>d</sup> on Stb <sup>d</sup> side (2) wind & rain continue.
N. 12° E.	1.20	4. $\frac{3}{4}$	To a p <sup>t</sup> on Stb <sup>d</sup> S <sup>d</sup> pass <sup>d</sup> a creek Lb <sup>d</sup> s <sup>d</sup> mast broke.
N. 32° E.	1.46	3. $\frac{1}{4}$	To p <sup>t</sup> at Mo: Kohokia Creek Stb <sup>d</sup> side (3) pass <sup>d</sup> a small village above a creek on Lb <sup>d</sup> side.
	7.31	13. $\frac{1}{2}$	

December the 8<sup>th</sup> [two pages blank in Ms.]  
 Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> December 1803.

At the landing opposite the town of Cahokia, and a little above its mouth took Meridian Alt<sup>d</sup> of ☉<sup>s</sup> U. Limb. found it 57° 46' 30"—the sun was reather dim, therefore it possible that this observation may have been liable to a small error. Lat<sup>d</sup> p<sup>r</sup> this obs<sup>tn</sup> 38° 38' 9"

Course of December the 10<sup>th</sup>

Course N 32° E. 1<sup>h</sup>- 27<sup>m</sup>-  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to S<sup>t</sup> Louis on the Larb<sup>d</sup> Side, passed the Mouth of a Creek er Beyou on the Stb<sup>d</sup> & a Creek on Lb<sup>d</sup>  
 December the 11<sup>th</sup>

a Verry rainy morning, the wind from the N.E. Crossed the river to S<sup>t</sup> Louis, Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis detain for to acquire information

<sup>1</sup> The "creek" was River Des Peres. "Viele Pouche," is called Vitepush in the *Navigator*; both terms are corruptions of "Vide Poche," or "empty pocket," the nickname bestowed upon the place by the inhabitants of its more prosperous neighbor, St. Louis. The latter city has now absorbed the former place, which appears on modern maps as Carondelet, a suburb of St. Louis. At the time of Clark's visit Vide Poche contained fifty houses and about 250 inhabitants. For its history see Houck, *Missouri*, II, 63-64.

<sup>2</sup> Cahokia originated as a mission to the Indians in 1698-99, around which as a nucleus a settlement gradually developed. It was probably the oldest, and next to Kaskaskia the most important, French settlement in the Illinois country. With the English conquest of the Illinois registered in the results of the French and Indian War, many of the inhabitants of Cahokia crossed the river to the new town of St. Louis.

of the Countrey [one and one-half lines blank in Ms.] and to prepare Dispatches to the Government by the night mail. at 11 oClock I proceeded on, at about one mile (1) passed two Creeks on the Larb<sup>d</sup> Side, the upper creek, which at the commencement of a Willow point is sufficiently large to admit a Boat in its Mouth—the wind changed to N. W. about 3 oClock, passed several large Sand bars in the middle of the river and Camped on the Side of a large Island, Situated on the Starbord Side, the rain Continued until 3 oClock to day.

The banks of the River on each side is Subject to over flow, from the last mentioned Creek. The Current of the water is against the Westerley shore, and the banks are falling, where there is no Rock.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup>

Course	Time	Dist <sup>e</sup>	Course Distanc & <sup>e</sup>
			Remk <sup>s</sup> & ref <sup>rs</sup>
	h m	m	
North	0.50	1. $\frac{1}{4}$	Along the Town of S <sup>t</sup> Louis to a p <sup>t</sup> on same side of the river
N. 10° W.	2.25	1. $\frac{3}{4}$	To a p <sup>t</sup> on Lb <sup>d</sup> side ps <sup>d</sup> 2 creeks on Lb <sup>d</sup> side very swift water.
N. 2 W.	2.15	3. $\frac{1}{4}$	To the side of an Is <sup>d</sup> Stb <sup>d</sup> side passed some very strong water & sev <sup>l</sup> large sand bars in the river on the Stb <sup>d</sup> of Crk
	5.20	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	

Monday the 12<sup>th</sup> of December

A hard NW wind all last night set out this morning at 7 oClock, passed the head of the Is<sup>d</sup> on which we Camped last night at one mile—nearly opposit the head of this Island is a settlement in a small Preree [prairie] on the Larb<sup>d</sup> Side, and the lower point of a large (1) Island close to the Sterb<sup>d</sup> Side (2) opposit the middle of this Island on the Larb<sup>d</sup> Side, the high Lands is within two or 300 yards of the River, above the high Lands on the Same side is an (3) Island in the bend of the river above the mouth of a Creek (4) passed the upper point of the Island on the Stb<sup>d</sup> which is about 4 miles long with a verry narrow Chan<sup>l</sup> seperateing it from the Stb<sup>d</sup> shore—Large banks of sand is thrown up from the last mentioned Island on the Lb<sup>d</sup> side to the mouth of Mussures [Missouri] (5) a small Island lies close to the Stb<sup>d</sup> side at the lower point is a settlement on land which does not appear to have been over flown latterly; (6) about [blank space in Ms.] miles higher up and above the upper p<sup>t</sup> of the last mentioned Island, & nearly opposit the Messouries I came to in the Mouth of a little

River Called Wood River, about 2 oClock and imediately after I had landed the NW wind which had been blowing all day increased to a *Storm* which was accompanied by Hail & snow, & the wind continued to blow from the same point with violence. [one and one-half lines blank in Ms.] not soon after I had landed two Canoes of Potowautomi Indians came up on the other side and landed [They] formed their Camp and three of them in a small canoo came across when the waves was so high & wind blowery with [such] violence that I expected their canoo would certainly fill with water or turn over, but to my astonishment found on their landing that they were all Drunk and their canoo had not recived any water. The hunders which I had sent out to examine the Country in Deferent derections, returned with Turkeys & Oposoms and informed me the country was butifull and had great appearance of Gaim.<sup>1</sup>

December 12<sup>th</sup>

Course	Time	Dist <sup>s</sup>	Remark <sup>s</sup> & References (1)
	h m	Mils	
N. 13° E.	2.15	2. $\frac{1}{4}$	To p <sup>t</sup> on Lb <sup>d</sup> side above a settlem <sup>t</sup> ps <sup>d</sup> the up <sup>r</sup> p <sup>t</sup> of the Is <sup>d</sup> (1) ops <sup>t</sup> is the Low <sup>r</sup> p <sup>t</sup> on Is <sup>d</sup> Stb <sup>d</sup> side.
N. 22° E.	2.20	6. $\frac{1}{4}$	To p <sup>t</sup> on Lb <sup>d</sup> side — ps <sup>d</sup> Creek (2) above the high Land. (3) ps <sup>d</sup> an Island ab <sup>e</sup> on Lb <sup>d</sup> Side. (4) ps <sup>d</sup> the up <sup>r</sup> p <sup>t</sup> of the Isl <sup>d</sup> on Lb <sup>d</sup>
N. 3° E.	1.40	2. $\frac{3}{4}$	To the Mouth of Wood Creek on Stb <sup>d</sup> side
	6.15	11. $\frac{1}{4}$	(5) pass <sup>d</sup> s <sup>m</sup> Is <sup>d</sup> on Stb <sup>d</sup> s <sup>d</sup> and Landed in the mo: of Wood Creek (6) a violent wind & <sup>c</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here, near the mouth of Wood River, or River Dubois, a camp was established and the winter was passed in waiting and preparing for the launching of the expedition proper upon the voyage up the Missouri in the spring of 1804. With the entry for December 12 the narrative journal of the preliminary expedition to this point closes. Apparently no journal was kept during the five months' stay at the camp on River Dubois. The journals of the expedition proper begin with the departure from this camp in May, 1804.



## Sergeant Ordway's Journal





Journal commenced at Shipwreck  
 Monday May 14<sup>th</sup> 1804. Morning, day  
 light. I and 1st out at 10 o'clock P.M. for the last  
 one day's journey. The party consisted of 3 men  
 38 Sadd Horses, which wound the Butteaux and to  
 Peasquess, we sailed up the Mgt over 6 miles  
 & camped on the 4<sup>th</sup> side of the River.

Tuesday May 15<sup>th</sup> 1804. Raining morning, furred  
 calm boat of the day. Sailed some. Encamped on 5<sup>th</sup> side  
 some land cleared. the Soil very dark, &c.

Wednesday May 16<sup>th</sup> 1804. Set out early, this was  
 any pleasant, arrived at St. Charles at 2 o'clock  
 one gun fired, a great number of French 1<sup>st</sup> after  
 some to see the boat. This place is an old  
 French settlement. A Roman Catholic. The  
 Americans settled in the country around.

Thursday May 17<sup>th</sup> 1804. A fair day, but heavy  
 night, nothing unusual meeting of nature, this day

Friday May 18<sup>th</sup> 1804. we lay at St. Charles  
 Saturday May 19<sup>th</sup> 1804. A Rainy day left St. Charles  
 and sailed at 10 o'clock. Small camp with 100  
 100 May 20 1804. I and some of the party

THE FIRST PAGE OF SERGEANT ORDWAY'S JOURNAL

## CHAPTER III

### FROM RIVER DUBOIS TO FLOYD'S CREEK,<sup>1</sup> MAY 14- AUGUST 20, 1804

A Journal<sup>2</sup> commenced at River Dubois Monday May the 14<sup>th</sup> 1804. Showery day. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Set out at 3 oClock P. M. for the western expedition. one Gun fired. a number of Citizens see us Start, the party consisted of 3 Sergeants & 38 Good hands, which maned the Batteaux and two pearogues. we Sailed up the Missouri 6 miles & encamped on the N. Side of the River.

<sup>1</sup>On the first leaf of the journal occurs the heading "Orderly Book for the Detachment Kept by Serg<sup>t</sup> Ordway Commencing on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of April 1804"; there follow two or three lines of disjointed memoranda, and a statement of the location of Camp River Dubois. It is apparent, therefore, that Ordway devoted to his own private journal the book which had been intended for the orderly book of the detachment. This, we learn from the captains, Ordway had been deputed to keep.

<sup>2</sup>The three important editions of the records of the Lewis and Clark expedition are:

1. *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri* \* \* \* Prepared for the Press by Paul Allen, Esquire (Philadelphia, 1814);
2. Elliott Coues (ed.), *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark* \* \* \* (New York, 1893);
3. The edition of the original journals of the expedition brought out by Doctor Thwaites and cited *ante*, 18, note 12.

The real editor of the first-named work was Nicholas Biddle, instead of Allen, and it commonly goes by his name. For the sake of brevity and of the convenience of editor and reader alike of the present work, these three editions of the Lewis and Clark records will be cited by the name of the editor alone (Biddle, Coues, and Thwaites, respectively). Since we are concerned with a narrative of events occurring in regular chronological sequence, several parallel journals of which were kept, in the absence of notification to the contrary, all such references to these three works will be understood to refer to the same day to which the annotation of Ordway's journal applies. In case the reference is to a different date this fact will be expressly stated. Where statements of the diarists themselves are quoted or referred to, the reference is to the Thwaites edition for the day in question.

Tuesday May 15<sup>th</sup> 1804. rainy morning. fair wind later part of the day. Sailed Some. encamped on N. Side Some land cleared, the Soil verry Rich, &c.

Wensday May 16<sup>th</sup> 1804. Set out eairly, this morning pleasant. arrived at S<sup>t</sup> Charles at 2 oClock P. M. one gun fired, a great number of French people Come to See the Boat &C this place is an old French Settlement & Roman Catholick. Some Americans Settled in the country around.

Thursday May 17<sup>th</sup> 1804, a fair day, but Rainy night, nothing occured worthy of notice this day

Friday May 18<sup>th</sup> 1804. we lay at S<sup>t</sup> Charles

Saturday May 19<sup>th</sup> 1804. a Rainy day Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis arrived, Cap<sup>t</sup> Stoddard<sup>1</sup> & Serg<sup>ts</sup> Worrell<sup>2</sup> came with him

Sunday May 20<sup>th</sup> 1804. I and a number of the party went to the Mass, & saw them perform &C.

Monday May 21<sup>st</sup> 1804. left S<sup>t</sup> Charles at 4 oClock P. M. Showery, the men all in high Spirits. George Drewyer & Willard<sup>3</sup> Stayed on business Encamped on the N. Side of the River

Tuesday May 22<sup>d</sup> 1804. passed Bonom Creek<sup>4</sup> on the South Side of the River, came 15 miles encamped on N. Side of the River, at clifts Some Indians came to us &C.

Wendsday May the 23<sup>d</sup> 1804. we Set out at 6 oC. A. M. pleasant. passed the wife or faim of the Hoozaw River,<sup>5</sup> 1 mile & half we passed the Corn tavern a noted place on the S Side 120 feet long 40 ab<sup>o</sup> & 20 perpenticular<sup>6</sup> high clifts, 1 mile to Tavern Creek encamped on S Side of the River our arms & amunition Inspected.

Thursday May the 24<sup>th</sup> 1804. nothing remarkable as recollected encamped on S Side

<sup>1</sup> Capt. Amos Stoddard, U. S. A. He was the commissioner appointed by President Jefferson to receive Upper Louisiana from France. The ceremony of transfer occurred Mar. 10, 1801, with Captain Lewis as the chief official witness. The transfer effected, Stoddard became military governor of Upper Louisiana.

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Worrall, one of Captain Stoddard's officers.

<sup>3</sup> For a list, together with some account of the various members of the expedition mentioned by Ordway in the course of the journal, see Coues, I, 253-59.

<sup>4</sup> Bonhomme Creek. All of the journalists who mention it labor over its spelling. It joins the Missouri in St. Louis County.

<sup>5</sup> The Femme Osage River. Clark writes it "Osage Womans R"; Floyd, "the wife of Osage River."

<sup>6</sup> Clark gives the dimensions as "about 120 feet wide 40 feet Deep & 20 feet high." The cave was a well-known stopping place for voyagers on the Missouri.

Friday May 25<sup>th</sup> 1804. came 3 miles passed a Creek called wood River on S Side land handsome the Soil Rich &C. high Banks, encamped at a French village N. S, called S<sup>t</sup> Johns<sup>1</sup> this is the last Settlement of whites on this River.

Saturday May the 26<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out at 7 oC. A. M. hard thunder & rain this morning passed a Creek called Otter Creek<sup>2</sup> encamped on N. Side

Sunday May the 27<sup>th</sup> 1804. passed Ash Creek high cliffs on S. Side Arrived at the Mouth of the Gasconade River<sup>3</sup> at 5 O. C. P. M. on S Side Shannon killed a Deer encamped on Island opposite to the Mouth of the River, which is a handsome place, the Soil is good, the Country pleasant &C. arms & ammunition Inspected.

Monday May the 28<sup>th</sup> 1804. the provisions & cloths put out to air Several men out hunting &C. Reuben Fields killed a Deer. the Mouth of the Gasconade River is 157 yards wide.

Tuesday May the 29<sup>th</sup> 1804, rain last night Several men out hunting, &C. we Set out from the Gasconade River at 5 O. C. P. M. Come 3 miles passed Deer Creek<sup>4</sup> on the S. Side encamped all night Jest above on the S Side one man Whitehouse lost hunting<sup>5</sup> Frenchmans pearogue st<sup>d</sup> for him

Wednesday May the 30<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out at 7 oClock A. M. after a hard rain, rained all last night. a little after dark last night Several Guns were fired below we expect the Frenchmen were firing for Whitehouse who was lost in the woods on N. Side oppisite an Island [Passed] a Cove Clifts called Monbrans

<sup>1</sup> More commonly called La Charette. Clark describes it as "a Small french Village of 7 houses and as many families." Its site, long since swept away by the Missouri River, was near modern Marthasville, Warren County. The U. S. Geological Survey map shows an island, creek, and township bearing the name St. Johns in Franklin County opposite the mouth of Charette Creek.

<sup>2</sup> More commonly given the French designation of Loutre River (or Creek). It joins the Missouri in Montgomery County, opposite the town of Hermann.

<sup>3</sup> The Gasconade River, a stream 200 miles in length, flows in a general northerly direction to the Missouri in Gasconade County.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Bailey Creek; it joins the Missouri from the south near the Osage-Gasconade county boundary.

<sup>5</sup> Clark, Floyd, and Gass all mention this incident, but fail to identify the man who was lost. From Whitehouse's own journal we learn the reason for his getting "lost." In the course of his hunting tour he discovered "the most remarkable cave I ever Saw in my travels." After exploring it he returned to the river to find the boat had gone on, leaving the pirogue with the Frenchmen behind to wait for him. As printed by Thwaites, Whitehouse's entry for this day is misdated May 28.

Tavern<sup>1</sup> at 12 o'clock a hard Shower of rain & hail passed a Creek called rush Creek on the N. Side of the River Came 4 miles passed Mud creek on River on N. Side of the River, the Soil is good the timber is Cottonwood Secamore hickory & white walnut & C. Some Grape vines Rushes & C. came about 14 miles encamped at Grind Stone Creek or Panther Cr.

Thursday May 31<sup>st</sup> 1804. we lay at panther creek on acc<sup>t</sup> of a hard wind from N. West Several of the party out hunting in the later part of the day Reuben Fields killed a Deer. Several Frenchman Stayed with us last night, came down the R. with Peltry & C.

Friday June 1<sup>st</sup> 1804. we Set out from Panther or Grindstone Creek at 5 O.C. a fair day. came 1½ miles passed Big Muddy Creek on N. Side R. high Banks on S. Side came 2½ miles passed Bear Creek. arrived at the Osage River<sup>2</sup> at 4 o.C. P. M. We encamped & fell a number of Trees in the Point for the Captains to Take observations & C.

Saturday June 2<sup>d</sup> 1804, we Stayed all day at the Osage R. the width of the Missouri at this place is 875 y<sup>ds</sup> wide the Osage River 397 yd<sup>s</sup> wide the Pearogue arived with the lost man & C.

Sunday June 3<sup>d</sup> 1804. we lay at the Osage R. the four part of the Day. the Hunters killed five Deer while we delayed at this place. we set out at 5 OC. in the afternoon and proceeded along the Cliffs. we encamped at Morow Creek<sup>3</sup> on S. Side.

Monday June 4<sup>th</sup> 1804. a fair day 3 hunters went out. our mast broke by my Stearing the Boat near the Shore the Rope or Stay to her mast got fast in a limb of a Secamore tree & it broke verry Easy.<sup>4</sup> passed a Creek on the South Side about 15 y<sup>ds</sup> wide which we name nightingale Creek, this Bird Sung all last night & is the first we heard below on the River<sup>5</sup> we passed

<sup>1</sup> "passed a cove where there were high cliffs on the north side opposite an island, called Mombran's tavern." Gass's *Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Hosmer's ed., Chicago, 1901), 119. The footnote references to Gass throughout the present volume are to the Hosmer edition.

<sup>2</sup> The Osage River, 500 miles in length, rises in Kansas and flows east and northeast to its junction with the Missouri. It is the most important southern tributary of the Missouri below the Kansas River.

<sup>3</sup> Moreau Creek, which empties into the Missouri five miles below Jefferson City.

<sup>4</sup> To commemorate this event the party named a near-by stream from the south Mast Creek. The name has disappeared from modern charts, however, and Coues thinks the stream "not identifiable with certainty."

<sup>5</sup> According to Coues (I, 11) no species of the true nightingale is found in North America; the "Virginia nightingale," so called, is the cardinal redbird.



Seeder Creek<sup>1</sup> on S Side line [fine] land above & below the Creek Rising land, Delightfull Timber of oak ash, Black walnut hickory & C. & C. passed a Creek called on canon<sup>2</sup> the S Side we encamped on S Side of the River at the Lead mines<sup>3</sup> our hunters killed 8 Deers it was Jerked this evening & C.

Tuesday June 5<sup>th</sup> 1804: a fair day passed Lead Creek on South Side of the River & Little Good woman Creek<sup>4</sup> on the N. Side, came 9 miles, passed the Creek of the Big Rock 15 y<sup>ds</sup> wide, at a 11 oClock we met 2 Frenchmen in 2 canoes locked together Loaded with Peltry & C. they came from 80 Leagues up the Kansias River, where they wintered then we passed a high Clifts of Rocks on which was Painted the Pickture of the Devil<sup>5</sup> on South Side of the River. we Encamped on the N. Side of the River at the upper point of an Island. the land is Rich well watered & C. the hunters killed 2 Deer this day.

Wednesday June 6<sup>th</sup> 1804. we mended our mast this morning and Set out at 7 o. C. with a gentle wind up the River. we passed a place in the projecting Rock the hole of the Split Rock River<sup>6</sup> a little above is Delightful Good Timber. I saw one handsome Run from under the Clifts of Rocks. Salt has been made their & C. we encamped on North Side of the River.

Thursday June 7<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out at 5 OClock fair day & f. wind passed high Clifts & a fine large Spring which Run from under the clifts of Rocks, about 2 miles further we Come to a

<sup>1</sup> Modern Cedar Creek, which empties into the Missouri from the north side opposite Jefferson City.

<sup>2</sup> Clark calls this Zancare, and Floyd, Zon Cer Creek. It joined the Missouri from the south, eight miles above the mouth of Cedar Creek.

<sup>3</sup> More exactly at a place called Lead-mine Hill, where according to French reports lead ore was to be found; but Clark was unable to find any trace of the mineral. According to Brackenridge it was nine miles above the mouth of Cedar Creek. *Early Western Travels*, VI, 164.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Bonne Femme Creek, which joins the Missouri midway between Burlington and Claysville. Lead Creek is either modern Meadow, Rock, or Mud, Creek, shown on the Missouri River Commission map. This map will be cited henceforth by the initial letters, M. R. C. map.

<sup>5</sup> Biddle describes this as "a strange figure resembling the bust of a man with the horns of a stag." Clark's pictorial reproduction of it may be seen in Thwaites. Two miles above, according to Clark's reckoning, is the mouth of Little Manitou Creek. As far back as 1752 it is laid down on D'Anville's map as the "Diable" River.

<sup>6</sup> Modern Rocher Perce River, in Boone County. Clark explains its name as due to "a projecting rock with a hole thro," which was passed near the mouth of the river.

Creek Called the Big Devil.<sup>1</sup> we Stayed to Breakfast. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & Several men went with him out to a lick, up the Creek. high Bluffs on N. Side. this Mountain Creek is 30 y<sup>ds</sup> wide at the mouth. We passed a painted part of a projecting Rock<sup>2</sup> We found this to be a den of rattle Snakes, we killed three. high Land on South Side of the River. we Encamped at the mouth of goodwomans River<sup>3</sup> on Right the hunters came in with 3 Bears this evening & informed us that the Country between between these Rivers is Rich

Friday June 8<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out at 4. OC. proceeded on passed a run on left Side above a point of rocks on 3 miles on which their is a number of Deer licks, 3 miles to the Mo. of mine River,<sup>4</sup> this River is navigable for Perogues. we met 3 Frenchman in 2 canoes from R. des Soud<sup>5</sup> above the Nation loaded with fur. we encamped on the Lower point of an Island called mills Island. our hunters killed 5 Deer. Some rain the Country on the right is verry fine.

Saturday June 9<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out cairly we got fast on a log detained us half an hour, Rain last night we passed prairie & arrow Creek<sup>6</sup> on South Side of the River. the land is high & verry good toward evening we passed a prairie & a Small Lake below. we Camped on an Island at left Side.

Sunday June 10<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set cairly after Some rain, a fair day, we passed hilley land on Right hand of the River. On the left the land is level plenty of Mulbery Trees. the mulberys Ripe on them. The timber is walnut hickery ash &<sup>e</sup> Grape vines run over the trees & C. at 10 oc we passed Deer Creek<sup>7</sup> on

<sup>1</sup> Modern Maniteau Creek, which empties into the Missouri at Rocheport, near the Boone-Howard county boundary.

<sup>2</sup> "past a rock on the N. Side whare the pictures of the Devil and other things." Floyd. This doubtless explains the name Big Devil, which Floyd, Gass, Whitehouse, and Ordway unite in giving the near-by stream.

<sup>3</sup> The Bonne Femme River, in Howard County.

<sup>4</sup> Mine River empties into the Missouri from the south in Cooper County a short distance above Boonville.

<sup>5</sup> "from the River of the Sioux above the Mahar Nation." Clark.

<sup>6</sup> Clark says "Prairie of Arrows" and "Creek of Arrows," these designations agreeing substantially with those given by Gass and Floyd. The M. R. C. map shows an island, a point, and a town all named Arrow Rock, near the Cooper-Saline county boundary.

<sup>7</sup> Identified by Coues as modern Hurricane Creek, which joins the Missouri one mile below the town of Glasgow.

the Right we passed the 2 Charlitons River<sup>1</sup> on the North Side, those Rivers are navigable Some Distance up & the Mouths are near together Capt Lewis killed a Buck little above We Camped on South Side of the River Cap<sup>ts</sup> went hunting, Several men with them. Drewyer killed a Deer, the land is excelent, large praries along the South Side of the River. the Timber on the bank is white walnut hickery Some Cottonwood & C.

Monday June 11<sup>th</sup> 1804. we lay by on acc<sup>t</sup> of the wind Blowing hard from the N. W. Drewyer & Several more went out in the Praries a hunting, & Drewyer killed two Bear & one Deer. R. Fields killed one Deer

Tuesday June 12<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out earley this morning. a fair Morning. we passed plumb Creek on South Side of the River. the plumbs are plenty up s<sup>d</sup> Creek. near below s<sup>d</sup> Creek the land is high well Timbered & well Situated for a plantation. The Timber Soil & C. is verry excelent, we camped on N. Side of the River. Several Frenchman Stayed with us all night coming down the River in Several pearogues Loaded with peltry. Bound to S<sup>t</sup> Louis. came from the Shew [Sioux] nation. they passed the last winter their & had an emence Site of Buffaloe Green Skins & C We Got an old Frenchman<sup>2</sup> to go with us which could Speak Several languages, among the indians for a long distance,

Wednesday June 13<sup>th</sup> 1804. fair morning we set out earily. passed the Creek of the praries, large praries above the Creek verry excellent land we passed a Creek Called Round bend Creek on N. Side pass<sup>d</sup> prarie on the South Side of the River. we arrived at Grand River<sup>3</sup> in good Season to encamp. Beautiful prarie across in the point Between the Missouri & Grand River high Land Back from the River, it being on the N. Side of River.

Thursday June 14<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out earily from the Grand River, foggy but fair day we passed a handsome Small prarie on North Side of the River. verry hard water. about noon we

<sup>1</sup> All the journalists of the expedition labor over this name. The modern form of the name is Chariton, borne by a town and county in addition to the two rivers, Big and Little Chariton.

<sup>2</sup> This was Pierre Dorion. For a characterization of him see Coues, I, 21. For an account of his connection with the exploring expedition see *post*, 122, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Grand River, still so called, rises near the Missouri-Iowa boundary, and runs in a southeasterly direction, draining a large portion of northwestern Missouri.

met 2 canoes loaded with peltry. four Frenchman bound to S<sup>t</sup> Charles, came from the Pannee<sup>1</sup> nation, where they had been hunting for 2 years. they came to us about 11 oClock A. M. left us at 3 O.C. P.M. we proceeded on passed high Land on the N. Side called Snake hills of the River,<sup>2</sup> then we passed Snake Creek on the N. Side of Missouri. we camped on N. Side.

Friday June 15<sup>th</sup> 1804. we set out eairly a fair day. we passed high Land on South Side of the River we passed Indian Creek little above we stopped at 12 O.C. to eat dinner & for Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis to take the Meridian altitude &C. We camped on the N. Side of this R. their is Beautiful high Good praries on the South Side pleasantest place I have ever Seen. their is five Islands & a number of Sand bars in the River about this place, and the Current is exceedingly Rapid all this day. the afore-said prarie is called village Lapero,<sup>3</sup> formerly In<sup>d</sup> Town

Saturday June 16<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out Eairly. we passed some handsome praries on the North Side of the River. the Current is very Strong all this day So that we were obledged to waid & Toe the boat over sand bars, &C. we encamped on the North Side of the River Jest above a verry bad Sand bar

Sunday June 17<sup>th</sup> 1804. we set out eairly come one mile and Stopped on N. Side to make some oars. Some men went out hunting the hunters came in towards Evening with one bear we got out Timber for 20 oars this day.

Monday June 18<sup>th</sup> 1804. hard Rain this morning we remained here to finish the oars. Several men went out hunting killed & brought in 4 Deer & one bear, they Inform us that their is handsome praries & very good land on the South Side of the River.

Tuesday June 19<sup>th</sup> 1804. we set out at 9 o.C. with a fair wind. we passed a beautiful large prarie on the North Side, high Rich

<sup>1</sup> The Pawnee nation consisted of four principal tribes or divisions. The Pawnee proper, probably the division here alluded to, resided upon the Platte River, thirty leagues above its mouth. Instead of "four Frenchman," Floyd has the party consist of three Frenchmen and one negro.

<sup>2</sup> A bluff, according to Clark, called the Snake Bluff from the number of snakes about this place. Clark records, also, a rather remarkable story, told by Drewyer, of an encounter with a snake which made "Goubeling noises like a turkey." Snake Creek is identified by Coues with modern Wakenda Creek in Carroll County.

<sup>3</sup> Whitehouse speaks of the settlement as "little Zoe [Sioux] prarie." Clark gives an account of two Indian village sites here, and Coues identified them with modern Malta Bend in Saline County. No explanation of Ordway's name Lapero has been found.

Bottom on South Side we passed Tabbo Creek<sup>1</sup> on South Side. we saw plenty of goos Berries & Ros Berries on the banks, we passed a bad place of Rocks. the water so Swift that we were obliged to hole the Boat by a Rope, we Camped on South Side opposite a pond, which was 'near to where we camped The Musquetoos are verry troublesome. Got Musquetoos bears<sup>2</sup> from Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis to sleep in.

Wednesday June 20<sup>th</sup> 1804, we Set out at 5 o.C. and after some rain passed Tiger Creek<sup>3</sup> on the N. Side passed some high land on the South Side. we passed a large Beutiful prarie called Sauke prarie we had verry hard water all this day. we passed Some high land on the South Side, Saw Some Crabb Apple Trees on the bank & C.

Thursday June 21<sup>st</sup> 1804. we Set out at 7 o.C. passed a Creek on the south side called peulaw or Eue bow Creek<sup>4</sup> the land high on South, on the N. fine Rich Bottom. I went on Shore with Drewyer all day & I never Saw as fine Timbered land in my life nor Such Rich handsome bottom land, Drewyer killed one Deer & him & me brought it to the River, one Turkey likewise, we encamped on the South Side of the River, low land on S. Side high land on the N. Side.

Friday June 22<sup>d</sup> 1804. we Set out at 7 o.C. after a hard Shower of rain & high wind from N.E. Thunder and lightning & C. the day fair proceeded on 2½ miles one of the men killed a goose. we passed a handsome prarie on the South Side & a Creek called little fire Creek.<sup>5</sup> Passed a Creek on the N. Side called

<sup>1</sup> Tabo Creek on the M. R. C. map; variously spelled on other modern maps. It joins the Missouri near Berlin, Lafayette County.

<sup>2</sup> The "bear," or "bier" was a covering used like its modern exemplar, the mosquito bar, as a protection against mosquitoes. Later we find Lewis using the term to designate the cord net which Sacajawea used as a cradle for her infant. Thwaites, II, 197.

<sup>3</sup> Identified by Coues as modern Crooked Creek, in Ray County. Biddle consolidated the journal entries for June 19 and June 20 into one, and in the process made the mistake of having the party pass Tyger Creek on June 19, before reaching Tabo Creek.

<sup>4</sup> This name proved to be a puzzler for the journalists of the expedition. Floyd gives it as Deu bau; Gass gives Du Beau or Du Bois; Clark wrote Euebert, which Biddle rendered Eau Beau or Clearwater. For a discussion of the significance of the name and the curious transformations it has undergone see Coues, I, 29.

<sup>5</sup> Probably modern Fire Prairie Creek, which joins the Missouri near the Jackson-Lafayette county boundary.

Big fire Creek<sup>1</sup> where our hunters waiting for us. we Camped opos. on South Side

23<sup>d</sup> June Saturday Some wind this morning from the N.W. we set out at 7 O.C. the wind Raised. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went out hunting by 11 O.C. we were obliged to Camp it being too windy for to see the Sand bars & C. The Hunters killed 2 Deer & got them to camp they went out again. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Remained on Shore all day & all Night. we lay Camped on the upper point of an Island, our arms Inspected & C. we lay all night on this Island. Jurked our meat & C.

Sunday June 24<sup>th</sup> 1804. we set out at 6 O.C. a fair day passed a Creek on the South Side Called Creek of the Hay Cabbins.<sup>2</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark came to the Boat this morning with a fat Bear. we Delayed at noon a Short time to Jurk & take care of it. high hills on the South Side of the River near S<sup>d</sup> Creek. the land is Rich & well Timbered on both Sides of the River. G Drewyer killed 2 Deer and R. Fields killed one Deer while we Stopped. we passed a Creek on the North Side little above Some Rocks Called Sharriton Cartie Creek<sup>3</sup> a prarie on the South Side. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis killed a Deer & Turkey we Camped on the South Side of the River. Collins killed 3 Deer in the course of this Day.

Monday June 25<sup>th</sup> 1804. a foggy morning. it Detained us about an hour. we Set out, passed a Coal Bank on the North Side which appears to have Great quantity of Coal in it. we passed a Small Creek Called Coal or (Chabaned)<sup>4</sup> on the same side. we passed a Creek on the South Side called Labunie<sup>5</sup> we Saw a Great nomber of Deer feeding on the Sand Beachs they feed on young willow & are verry numerous. we passed Some Lands on high praries on the South Side of the River. passed Some high hills on

<sup>1</sup> Apparently modern Fishing River, which flows across Clay and the corner of Ray counties.

<sup>2</sup> Floyd wrote Hay Creek, Whitehouse, Straw Hill River, and Clark, Hay Cabbin Creek. Clark explains that the stream was named "from Camps of Straw built on it." It is modern Little Blue Creek, in Jackson County.

<sup>3</sup> Coues explains this name as a phonetic rendering of the French *Charretins écartés*—two creeks named *Charretin*, having separate courses (*écartés*) but with a common entrance into the Missouri. Two creeks in Clay County correspond, apparently, with the location and the description in question.

<sup>4</sup> Written "Chabonea" by Clark; identified by Coues as modern Rush Creek, in Clay County.

<sup>5</sup> Various spelled by the diarists of the expedition as "Labenile," "la beane," "La Benn," "Bennets'," and "un batteur La benne"; identified by Coues as modern Mill Creek, in Jackson County.

the South Side. Some Rocks, &C. Signs of Springs on the N. Side of S<sup>d</sup> hills. R. Fields killed a Deer. we came 11½ miles & Camped on an Is<sup>d</sup> lower point of an Island near the North Side of the River. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis killed a Rabbit. R. Fields killed a Deer. this evening our flanking party did not Get to us this evening.

Tuesday June 26<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out eairly proceeded on passed an Island on the South Side back of this Island a large Creek comes in called Blue water Creek.<sup>1</sup> hills & high land along the River Swift water this afternoon the Rope Broak & the Boat Swong But Took no Injury. at Sunset we arrived at the Kanes River,<sup>2</sup> our flanking party joined us. we camped on the fork between the Two Rivers.<sup>3</sup> on South Side of the Missouri, Several nations of Indians up this River

Wednesday June 27<sup>th</sup> 1804. all the party out eairly this morning cutting the Timber off a cross the point & made a Hadge a cross of the Timber & bushes to answer as defence & made room for Cap<sup>t</sup> to take obser The black pearogue unloaded & Turned up to mend &C. The Captains were Taking<sup>4</sup> observations &C. peter Crusat killed a Deer. The Kansas River is 230 y<sup>ds</sup> wide at the Mouth & red further up a high bank 1 mile up, fine place for a fort &C.

Thursday June 28<sup>th</sup> 1804. pleasant. the loading put out to air. I went out hunting. 2½ miles & passed a fine Spring Running from under the hills I drank hearty of the water & found it the best & coolest I have seen in the country. Several of the party went hunting & [killed] 4 Deer R. & J. Fields killed a young woolf & brought one home to camp for to Tame. one man saw Several buffelow up the Kansas River. this is 366<sup>5</sup> Miles from mouth of Missouri. The Latitude 38° 31<sup>m</sup> 13<sup>s</sup> North the width of the M. here is 500 y<sup>ds</sup> wide

<sup>1</sup> Now Big Blue River. It runs north through Jackson County to the Missouri about thirty miles east of Kansas City. On the M. R. C. map this is called Little Blue River, while Big Blue River is farther west, flowing through the outskirts of Kansas City.

<sup>2</sup> The Kansas River drains the greater part of the state of Kansas. Whitehouse writes "River de-Caugh," the similarity of which to the modern Kaw, sometimes used as an alternative name for Kansas, is evident.

<sup>3</sup> On the site of Kansas City, Mo.

<sup>4</sup> "we determine to delay at this Place three or four Days to make observations & recruit the party." Clark.

<sup>5</sup> According to the distances shown on the M. R. C. map the mouth of the Kansas is 392 miles above the mouth of the Missouri.

Friday June 29<sup>th</sup> 1804. Several large Catfish was Caught last night, the Captains engaged taking observations &C. a Court martial<sup>1</sup> held &C. we set out from the Kansas River at half past 4 O.Clock P.M. proceeded on passed a small creek on the South Side of the Missouri Swift waters one mile & half came to hills on the South Side, proceeded on passed Some Small Islands, camped on the North Side of Missouri, excelent bottom land the Rushes are so thick that it is verry troublesome to walk through them.

Saturday June 30<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out eairly proceeded on Saw a verry large woolf on the sand beach this morning at 10 miles from or above the Kansis passed the mouth of a small River called Petete platt R. or little Shole river<sup>2</sup> this river is about 50 y<sup>ds</sup> wide and has several Rapids & falls, well calculated for mills, the Land on this River is said to be rooling. the men killed 2 Deer Swimming the River. The hunters killed 7 Deer the most of them were bucks. we broke our mast comming to Shore against a Small Tree which hung over the River. came about 10 miles this day camped on the South Side of the Missouri.

Sunday July 1<sup>st</sup> 1804. we Set out at Sun rise passed a Small Creek which we call Bisquet Creek<sup>3</sup> on the South Side of the

<sup>1</sup> "after making some Arrangements and inflicting a little punishment to two men we Set out." Clark. The orderly-book record for this day reveals what really lies behind these unostentatious entries. A court-martial, sitting in judgment on two men guilty of purloining whisky from the general store, sentenced one of them to receive 100, and the other 50, lashes on the "bear Back." The offense of the culprit who drew the heavier sentence was an aggravated one—"getting drunk on his post this Morning out of Whiskey put under his charge as a Sentinel" and suffering his fellow in misdoing to draw whisky "out of the Said barrel." The maintenance of discipline was, of course, essential to the safety of the party and the success of the expedition. Even so, Clark's nonchalant characterization of the infliction of one hundred lashes on the bare back as "a little punishment" is calculated to shock the sensibilities of the twentieth-century reader. In no other way, perhaps, could the extent to which custom and opinion with respect to the imposition of corporal punishment have changed, during the century that has passed, be more strikingly shown.

<sup>2</sup> The Little Platte has changed its mouth materially since 1804. The M. R. C. map shows the old mouth of the stream immediately above the town of Parkville, and approximately ten miles, as stated by Ordway, above the Kansas. The same map shows its present mouth near the town of Waldron, ten miles higher up the Missouri. At or near this point was pitched the camp of June 30.

<sup>3</sup> So named, apparently, by Clark. Its mouth was near the present mouth of the Little Platte; it is not shown on modern maps; probably its disappearance



Missouris, we passed a Sand barr in the river which was covered for a mile wide with Drift wood, the Day is exceeding hot So we Stopped at 12 oClock & Delayed about 3 hours to rest in the heat of the day, high land on the South Side fine Bottom on the North Side of Missouris, we came to a high prarie on the South Side. we camped after comming about 10 or 12 miles, on the North Side of the Missouris. passed Several Islands in course of the Day.

Monday July 2<sup>nd</sup> 1804. we set out verry early this morning passed a High beautiful Situation on the South Side of the river, a Creek comes in on the North Side called parques or fence creek or River, we passed a creek on the South Side called Turquie or Turkey Creek,<sup>1</sup> we Delayed at 12 O.C. for to put up a Temperary mast as the wind was fair, we passed a prarie on the South Side of the River called the old Village of the Kansars & C. we passed Several Islands. Several Deer killed this day, we camped on the North Side of the River Our flanking party did not Join us at night.

Tuesday July 3<sup>rd</sup> 1804. we Set out eairly & proceeded on under a gentle Breese from the South. passed a long Island<sup>2</sup> & Several Small ones we found a white horse on the bank of the river near where their was an old Trading house built by a French merchant from S<sup>t</sup> Louis to Trade with the Kansas Indians. The land is Good high bottom pine Timber & black walnut honey locas oak & C. & C. I saw waat they call bucks Eye with the nuts on them we passed a high prarie oposite to the Trading house & camped at a point on the South Side of the Missouris

Wednesday July 4<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out Eairly & passed the mouth of the out let of a large lake<sup>3</sup> which comes in on the north side.

may be accounted for by the changes that have taken place in the channel of the former.

<sup>1</sup> There is considerable contradiction between the different journals of the expedition concerning the creeks passed this day. Clark speaks of passing (1) "Turquie Creike" on the south side, and (2) Turkey Creek on the same side. The first is evidently the "parques or fence creek" of Ordway, and the second Ordway's Turkey Creek. The expedition passed Leavenworth, Kans., this day. Coues identifies the spot where the noon stop was made with Kickapoo Island, shown on the U. S. Geological Survey map immediately above the Fort Leavenworth military reservation.

<sup>2</sup> Then and still called Cow Island (by the French, Isle de Vache); it lies opposite the town of Iatan, Mo.

<sup>3</sup> Probably represented by modern Sugar, or Bean Lake, in southwestern Buchanan and northwestern Platte counties, Mo. Clark named it Goslin Lake, because of the large numbers of "Gees & Goslings" seen on it.

this pond or lake is large & there has been a great many beaver found in it, high land on the South side & prairies, we Delayed a short time at noon to dine. a Snake bit J<sup>o</sup> Fields on the out side of his foot,<sup>1</sup> this was under the hills near the prairies on the South Side, we passed a Creek on the South Side about 15 yards wide. comes out of the large prairie, and as it has no name & as it is the 4 of July, Cap<sup>ts</sup> name it Independence Creek<sup>2</sup> we fired our Bow piece this morning & one in the evening for Independence of the U. S. we saw a number of Goslings half grown to day. we camped in the pla[ce]s one of the most beautiful places I ever saw in my life, open and beautifully Diversified with hills & vallies all presenting themselves to the River.

Thursday July 5<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out verry earlly. we Swam the white horse a cross this River, proceeded on for two miles under the bank where the old Kansas Town formerly Stood (Say in 1724) the cause of those people moveing from this place we cannot learn, but naturlly conclude that war has reduced their nation and compelled them to retire further into the plains with a view of defending themselves. I did not mention on yesterday that the Lake on the north side was large say  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a Mile wide & 7 or 8 miles long [with] one Creek & several Creeks running in to it from the hills it contains a great quantity of fish and Goslings from which it takes its name, we passed Some verry bad sand bars the Boat turned three times once on a Drift wood, but recived no procevable damage, we came too at a beaver house for Dinner, the high land on the South Side is open a few trees scattering, we passed a Small creek on the left named Yallow Oakey Creek,<sup>3</sup> we Camped on the South Side under a high bank, the land on the opposite Side is well timbered good bottom, fine place for a Range verry thick high Rushes for common

Friday July 6<sup>th</sup> 1804. we set out earlly this morning proceeded on, the river falls Slowly the weather is verry warm,

<sup>1</sup> "which was quickly doctored with bark by Cap. Lewis." Clark. "The man that was snake bitten is become well." Gass, July 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ordway here falls into error. Two creeks were passed this day, the first of which was named Fourth of July and the second Independence Creek. The latter, a short distance above Atchison, still retains its name. Both streams are shown on J. N. Nicollet's map (*Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River*. Washington, 1843).

<sup>3</sup> Called "Yellow Oaker" by Clark, and shown as Yellow Ochre Creek on Nicollet's map of 1843. Apparently it was modern Brush Creek in southeastern Doniphan County, Kans.

several days the Sweet pores off the men in Streams, opposite the 3<sup>d</sup> point we passed a handsome Prarie on the north side called Reeveys or S<sup>t</sup> Michel prarie,<sup>1</sup> from a man of that name being killed in it we passed Round the Grand Bend which is 2 miles out in the River. we camped on the south side of the River<sup>2</sup> a whiper will perched on the Boat for a short time.

Saturday July 7<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out eairly passed Swirt [Swift] waters on the South side, verry warm morning, passed a beautiful prarie on the North Side which extends back, those praries called S<sup>t</sup> Michel has much the appearance from the river of farms Divided by narrow Strips of woods those Strips of timber grows along the runs which rise on the hills, & pass to the River. I went on Shore with the Horses in the afternoon. In the North Side crossed a Creek 2 miles up in the evening followed down to the mouth and camped it being too late to find the boat, the Musquitoes troubled me so that I could not Sleep, as this creek is without name & my Describing it to my Cap<sup>t</sup> he named it Ordway Creek.<sup>3</sup> Some of the men in the Boat killed a wolf to day they camped on the South Side of the Missouris, one man taken sick (Frasier).

Sunday July 8<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out eairly this morning I came on board about 8 oClock proceeded on along the North Side of an Island called Nodaway Island. high well timbered land on the North Side, passed a Creek near the upper end of this long Island called Nodaway Creek or River<sup>4</sup> we Camped on the North Side of the Missouris,<sup>5</sup> the Hunters killed one Deer to day but did not Join us at night.

<sup>1</sup> Ordway here seems to have fallen into error through attempting to copy Clark. The latter speaks of passing "Reeveys Prarie," July 6, and "St Michel's," July 7. Ordway alone supplies an explanation of the origin of the name of the latter.

<sup>2</sup> Floyd and Gass state that the encampment was at Whippoorwill Creek; identified by Coues as modern Peters Creek, Doniphan County, Kans.

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately for the fame of Ordway Creek, Lewis' journal for the day, if he kept one, is lost, and Clark makes no mention of the stream or its name. The party passed the site of St. Joseph, Mo., this day.

<sup>4</sup> The modern name, correctly spelled. In this achievement Ordway excels all of the other diarists who mention the river. Whitehouse writes the name twice, once as "Nan doughe," and again as "Nandouie." He also records the explanation that the English significance of the term is "woody river." Coues says the word means "some kind of snake," and that the stream has sometimes been called Snake River.

<sup>5</sup> At the head of Nodaway Island, opposite the town of Nodaway, Mo.

Monday July the 9<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out eairly Sent Bratton Back to the Creek to blaze some trees, So the Hunters might See, we had passed. proceeded on passed a Creek or [run] leading from a big pond called the Creek of the big pond. this pond is near the River, and about 3 miles long & handsome a great many beaver, & fish, fine land and well timbered about this place, Rainy. the wind changed from the N. E. to the S. W. at 6 miles passed the mouth of a small Creek on the South Side called Monters or wolf Creek,<sup>1</sup> passed a place on the South Side about 2 miles above the Creek where Several Frenchman camped 2 years for to hunt & raise corn &c. high land on the South Side we passed a Creek on the South Side called River De Loup,<sup>2</sup> the wind Shifted to the N. W. in the evening. Camped on the South Side<sup>3</sup> of the Missouris, a Gun fired on the opposite Side Supposed to be our hunters the pearogue went over for them but did not find them nor any body else. we fired our bow peace.

Tuesday July 10<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out this morning with a view to land near where we Saw the Sun last night & to reconortre but Soon Discovered that our men were at the fire, they were a Sleep eairly last night and did not know that we sent for them by the pearogue. proceeded on passed a prarie on the upper side of woolf Creek or River at 4 miles passed a Small called River poke<sup>4</sup> this Creek is about 15 y<sup>ds</sup> wide, and called after a Spaniard who killed himself at the mouth, at noon we dined on an

<sup>1</sup> Named Monters by Clark, which Biddle changed to Mountain. Coues identifies it as modern Charleston Creek, Doniphan County, Kans. Apparently Ordway confused the name of this stream with that of the one immediately following it.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Wolf Creek; it rises in Brown County, Kans., and flows across Doniphan County.

<sup>3</sup> More properly, the west side. It is important to note in this connection that in ascending the Missouri the members of the expedition always speak of the starboard and larboard, or right and left, sides from their own point of view, which is the direct opposite of the right and left sides from the viewpoint of the river itself; also, having started out with the right side of the river (the left from the viewpoint of the expedition) on the south, and the left on the north, they continue to use the terms south side and north side in this sense, without regard to the actual direction of the river's course. South side therefore means the right side (the left-hand side from their viewpoint), and north side means the left side (the right-hand side from their viewpoint) of the river.

<sup>4</sup> Floyd wrote "pape Creek"; Clark wrote "Pappie," which Biddle changed to "Pape." Floyd explains that the man for whom the creek was named killed himself while drawing his gun out of the boat. Coues identifies the stream as modern Cedar Creek in Doniphan County.

Island called De Silamen<sup>1</sup> and Delayed 3 hours. proceeded on opposite this Island on the South Side is a beautiful Bottom prairie which will contain about 2000 acres of Land covered with wild rye and wild potatoes. Great numbers of Goslins on the Banks and on the Ponds near the River. Cap<sup>t</sup> M. Lewis killed 2 this evening we came too & camped for the night on the north side opposite a yellow clay cliffs—the Bottoms on the North Side is very extensive & thick the hills or high Land is near the River on South Side & one but thinly timbered back back of those hills is open prairie.

July 11<sup>th</sup> Wednesday, 1804. we set out early Drewyer & J<sup>o</sup> Fields went out to hunt, proceeded on passed a Creek which comes in behind a willow Island on the North Side called by the Indians Little Tarcio Creek,<sup>2</sup> we proceeded on 6 miles camped on the North Side of a willow Island opposite a Creek which came in on the South Side of the Missouri Called the Grow Mahhan.<sup>3</sup> Several men went out hunting to day 2 came in with five Deer (Drewyer killed 6 deer to day) and brought them in. 2 men Stayed out all night, Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark found a grey horse on the beach supposed to be left by hunters.

Thursday July 12<sup>th</sup> 1804. we lay by for to Rest and wash our Cloaths,<sup>4</sup> & C., the Cap<sup>t</sup> take observations. Several hunters went out this morning the hunters which went out yesterday on the South Side went up the Mahas River this River is about 80 y<sup>ds</sup> wide and navigable for pearogues Some distance up. this prairie comes to its mouth and continues both Sides. A long distance in the Country, one Sentinel a Sleep on his post last night, and tried by court martial this day.<sup>5</sup> Drewyer killed 2 Deer to day.

<sup>1</sup> Written "de Salamin" by Clark; "Solomon's Island" by Biddle, and so shown on Nicollet's map.

<sup>2</sup> Still the Little Tarkio, in Holt County, Mo.; characterized by Coues as "a sloughy stream, whose waters have leaked into the Missouri in places at least 20 miles apart." On modern maps its mouth is variously located. On the M. R. C. map it is shown just below Forest City, Mo.

<sup>3</sup> Clark wrote "Ne Ma How"; Whitehouse, "Grande-mo-haugh"; Gass gives "Moha," and Floyd "Granma mohug." It is the modern Grand Nemaha of southeastern Nebraska, joining the Missouri just above the Kansas-Nebraska boundary. In passing from the Little Tarkio to the Grand Nemaha, therefore, the expedition crossed this boundary line.

<sup>4</sup> Floyd notes (July 11) that "the men is all Sick." and Clark that they are "much fatigued."

<sup>5</sup> The culprit, Alexander Willard, was sentenced to receive "One hundred lashes on his bear back, at four different times in equal proportion," the punish-

Friday July 13<sup>th</sup> 1804. we set out at Sun rise, proceeded on passed the Mouth of the Big Tarkio River<sup>1</sup> last night at 10 O'Clock a violent Storm from the N.N. E. which lasted for one hour. a small Shower succeeded the wind, the Latitude of yesterday 39° 55' 56" Long.<sup>2</sup> passed a prairie level and beautiful below some high hills, containing an amence Site of Grapes, wild Rye & C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed 2 Goslins, Drewyer 2 also. the wind favourable from the South, the men Caught 2 Geese on a Sand barr one an old one (the old Geese have pin feathers yet cannot fly.) Since passing the Nodaway River the hills could only be seen in a few places at a great Distance from the River on the North Side of the Missouri. But on the South Side their is high Land. & handsome praries the most of the way from the old Village of the Kansas we camped on a large Sand bar in the m: of the River opposite a high & extensive prairie, on the North Side (came about 20 miles today)

Saturday July 14<sup>th</sup> 1804. Some hard Showers of rain accompanied with some wind which detained us untill about 7 oClock, we then Set out and proceeded on about a mile their their came up a violent Storm from the N. E. of wind & rain which passed through an open prairie, it came so suddenly by a black cloud & dismal looking we were in a situation near the upper point of a Sand Island & on the opposite Shore falling in, the boat nearly quartering & blowing down the current. the Boat was in danger of being thrown up of[f] the Sand but the men were all out in an instant holding hir out Stemming the wind the anchor was immediately carried out. So by all exertion we could make we kept the boat from filling or takeing injury. the 2 pearogues ware about a quarter of a mile ahead the men on board were much put to it to keep them Safe. this Storm Suddenly Seased, and in one minute the River was as Smooth as it was before,<sup>3</sup> the wind Shifted to the S. E. and we Set Sail & proceeded on passed small Island on the north Side & dined. R. Field who had charge of the horses on shore did not join us last night, passed an old fort on

ment to begin at sunset of the same day and to continue each succeeding evening until completed. Thwaites, I, 76.

<sup>1</sup> Still so called; it runs across Atchison and Holt counties, Mo.

<sup>2</sup> There was some error in taking the observation, since the Kansas-Nebraska boundary, already passed, is the fortieth parallel of latitude.

<sup>3</sup> Clark corroborates this with a remarkable exhibition of orthography: "the Storm Sudenly Seased, and the river became Instancetaneously as Smoth as Glass."

the north Side, where Roe Bennet of St Louis wintered 2 years & traded with the Otteaus & pawnies, proceeded on passed a handsome sand beach on the South Side, where we Saw three large Elk the first wild ones I ever Saw. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & drewyer Shot at them, but the distance was too long, they Ron or trotted in to the River and Shannon Swam across after them we proceeded on passed a large creek behind the lower point of an Island on the North Side called *Neash-na-Batto-na*,<sup>1</sup> this Creek is as large as the Mine River & runs parrelel with the Missouri for some considerable distance, the men who were with the horses joined us this evening. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks notes & Remarks of 2 days blew overboard this morning in the Storm, and he was much put to it to Recolect the courses & C. we camped on the South Side opposite an Island.

Sunday July 15<sup>th</sup> 1804. a foggy morning which Detained us untill 7 oClock, Drewyer & Sg<sup>t</sup> Floyd went on Shore. we proceded on till Breakfast after [breakfast] I went on Shore with Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark on the South Side we Saw fresh Sign on [the] bank of Elk crossed a creek named faun Creek which came in on the South Side of Missouri we walked on over a Ridge came to high large praries & hills. we walked on found Some cherries near a handsome Spring River named cherry Run<sup>2</sup> at which we drank at the forks then followed it or one branch to the head which came out of a ridige which joins the praries, and went up on a high R. Ridge of prarie where we could See all around for a long distance in the open praries or as far as our eyes could behold, and on the opposite Side of the Missouri we saw a large & extensive prarie which looked verry handsome, we walked along the hill prarie came to a large Creek called ne-ma-haw Creek<sup>3</sup> which is about 30 y<sup>ds</sup> wide we delayed their till the boat came in Site then crossed & went on to a point where the Boat came & camped, the flanking party who were with the horses did not join us this

<sup>1</sup> Modern Nishnabotna River, which drains a considerable portion of southwestern Iowa and the western part of Atchison County, Mo.

<sup>2</sup> The morning walk was taken in southeastern Nemaha County, Nebr. Clark says of it that "three butifull Streems of running water" were crossed; and the State Railway Commission map of 1907 shows three creeks (unnamed) in the region in question. Two of these are evidently Ordway's Faun Creek and Cherry Run.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Little Nemaha River; to be distinguished from Grand or Great Nemaha, already passed. It flows through Otoe and Nemaha counties, and joins the Missouri just below Nemaha City.

night, J<sup>o</sup> Fields went out on the North Side & killed a Deer. we found plenty of ripe grapes along the Bottoms.

Monday July 16<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out verry eairly this morning proceeded on the side of a prarie above the prarie the hills make near the River passed several small Islands. one large one called fair Sun<sup>1</sup> the Boat Ran fast on a Sawyer the wind from the South, we delayed at 12 oClock for the Captains to take the Meridian altitude & Set their watches &C. we then sailed along & Stopped to Dine. little above where the hills came close to the R. on South Side we passed a high Sand Bank which appeared to be slideing in at times. little above a Bank of Sand Stone which was high & many Birds Nests in the holes we proceeded on to a large handsome prarie on the North Side where we camped the party who were with the horses joined us with 2 Deer The River *neesnah-bo-to-na* Runs along back of the Bottom prarie under the Ball hill<sup>2</sup> along this River is plenty of Timbers every fiew miles which Stands in Handsome Groves. these hills are in some places from 3 to 6 miles from the Missouris.

Tuesday July 17<sup>th</sup> 1804. a pleasant warm day. we delay at this place<sup>3</sup> for to hunt & take observations &C. Several men out hunting eairly this morning—through the aforesaid Ball pated prarie. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Rhode out hunting also the hunters killed 4 Deer to day La<sup>t</sup> 40-29' 54" North.

Wednesday July 18<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out at Sun rise under a gentle Breeze from the S.E. by S. a fair morning, we proceeded on along this prarie passed Several Islands, the current of the River Runs 50' fathom in 41 seconds, their is but little timber on either Side of the River, except the Islands and points which are low wet & covered with lofty towering Cotton wood Mulbery Elm &C. &C. we passed hill praries and a place in a high bank

<sup>1</sup> Modern Sun Island, located about midway between Peru and Brownsville, Nebr.

<sup>2</sup> Clark notes passing an island called by the French "chauve" (bald); hence he named the adjoining prairie "Ball pated Prairie." On Nicollet's map Bald Island is shown in the northwestern corner of Atchison County in the state of Missouri. Both the Missouri and the Nishnabotna have changed their courses since Lewis and Clark's time. Coues states (I, 17) that the Nishnabotna nowhere approaches the Missouri so closely as Ordway here indicates; yet a map of Atchison County before me, published in 1882, shows the Nishnabotna emptying into an old cut-off of the Missouri surrounding the Bald Island of Nicollet's map and Clark's Bald Pated Prairie, some twenty-five miles above the present mouth of the stream.

<sup>3</sup> In northwestern Atchison County, Mo., not far from the Iowa line.



where Some appearance of Iron oar where the Bank Sliped in to the River about 200 feet high. we camped on the South Side of the Missouri.<sup>1</sup> towards night we Saw an Indian dog on the Bank of the River, which appeared to have been lost. Drewyer joined us with 2 Deer this evening.

Thursday July 19<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out eairly between 2 Islands passed a place called Bakers oven & an Island called Bakers Island.<sup>2</sup> we passed the mouth of a small creek in a bend above high clifts on the South Side passed high land along the South Side forming clifts to the river of yallow earth. praries on the top, we Saw some Signs of Elk. we gathered a quantity of cherries at noon time & put in to the Whiskey barrel we proceeded on passed several Sand bars & Islands and we camped on the North Side of an a willow Island which is in a round bend of the river. G. Drewyer Joined us with 2 Deer this evening. Bratton also he found Callimous (sweet flag we call it) opposite where we camped<sup>3</sup> & a large quantity.

Friday July 20<sup>th</sup> 1804. a heavy Deaw last night. Some foggy this morning. we Set out at Sun rise. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor & J<sup>o</sup> Fields went on Shore with the Horses. George Drewyer Sick, we passed a fine spring runing out of a high clift of Rocks consisting of lime Stone and Iron oar little above we passed weeping water creek or the creek which Cryes,<sup>4</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & R. Fields went on Shore after Breakfast, passed praries on both sides of the Missouri, passed handsome high praries all along the east Side. passed Several runs Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark found an excelent Spring on the South Side near a small pond in Site of the River we passed Several Islands & Sand bars and camped<sup>5</sup> on the South Side under a high hill prarie which appeared beautiful. J<sup>o</sup> Fields killed 2 Deer to day & brought them in.

Saturday July 21<sup>st</sup> 1804. Some Rain this morning We Set out at Sun rise under a gentle Breese from the South or S. E. We

<sup>1</sup> "a little below Nebraska City." Coues. The Iowa-Missouri boundary was passed during the day.

<sup>2</sup> There are numerous islands in the stretch of the river immediately above and below Nebraska City. The names given by Ordway do not appear on modern maps. Nicollet's map shows Upper and Lower Oven Islands.

<sup>3</sup> Two or three miles below the mouth of Weeping Water Creek, in the vicinity of Nebraska City.

<sup>4</sup> Shown on Perrin du Lac's *Carte Du Missouri l'An 1802* as "l'eau qui pleure"; on modern maps as Weeping Water Creek.

<sup>5</sup> About midway between the northern and southern boundaries of Cass County, Nebr.

proceeded on verry well, passed Several Islands &. C. Some high lands covered with Timber in this hill is semented rock & limestone some fine Springs &. C. we arived at the mouth of the platte River<sup>1</sup> S. S. about 1 oClock this River Runs out and forms Several large Sand bars thrown out by their is Some high hand-some praries about this River, the Platt River, the Rapidity of the River Platt which is much greater than that of the Missouri, its width at the mouth across the bars is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile, higher up we are told by one of our French Bowman that he was 2 years up or on this River and that it does not rise four feet but Spreads open 3 miles at Some places, we proceeded on round a large Sand bar S. S. a hard wind from N. W. we put Below past the last mentioned Sand bar we passed a creek on S. S. called pappee<sup>2</sup> R. praries in p<sup>t</sup> between the Missouri & the Great R. Platt but flat Subject to overflow. Some large cotten wood Timber but thin on the point. we Camped on the South Side of the River, a prairie on the N. Side of the Missouri the party who were with the Horses joined us with four Deer.

Sunday July 22<sup>nd</sup> 1804. we Set out eairly to find Some Good Timbered land and a good place to encamp we proceeded on along a high bank S. S. hand some praries along this bank to the hills which commenced about 10 miles above G. R. Platt. we passed on up a Creek on the N. called Marringua (French) Musquetoe (English) Creek<sup>3</sup> which comes in behind a willow Island. we proceeded on 12 miles from G. R. Plate and encamped

<sup>1</sup> The Platte is one of the great tributaries of the Missouri, draining most of Nebraska and portions of Colorado and Wyoming. Brackenridge, who ascended the Missouri in 1811 in the company of a party of traders, relates that voyagers on the Missouri regarded the Platte as a point of as much importance as mariners do the equinoctial line. All who had not passed it before must treat or submit to be shaved, and the occasion was one of much merriment. The portion of the river beginning at this point was regarded as the upper Missouri. *Early Western Travels*, VI, 77. For a similar custom among the watermen of the Mississippi upon arriving at the Grand Tower see Lewis' journal, *ante*, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Papillion or Big Papillion Creek; its source is near South Omaha, and its mouth a mile above the mouth of the Platte.

<sup>3</sup> Still known as Mosquito Creek. It flows across Harrison and Pottawatamie counties, Iowa, joining the Missouri near the southern boundary of the latter. Formerly its mouth was several miles farther south, in Mills County. The M. R. C. map represents the present mouth of the Mosquito as fifteen miles above the mouth of the Platte, and the old mouth as nine miles above the latter. This agrees with Clark's statement, which placed the Mosquito nine miles above the Platte.

at 11 o'clock on the N. Side of the Missouri at a point convenient for observations & we cleared away the willows & pitched our Tents and built boweries & C.<sup>1</sup>

Monday July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1804. Clear morning. G. Drewyer and Peter [Cruzatte] went to the Zottoas & Panies (45 miles to nations) village to invite them to come to our Encampment to treat. We hoisted the American Colours on the Bank the loading of the Boat put out to air & C. The Lat<sup>o</sup> at this place is 41<sup>d</sup> 3<sup>m</sup> 19<sup>s</sup>  $\frac{3}{4}$  North, one of the hunters killed 2 Deers.

Tuesday 24<sup>th</sup> July 1804. Some rain. wind blew from N. E. 4 men went to making ores for the Boat. we found a Great quantity of Ripe Grapes at this place.

Wednesday July 25<sup>th</sup> 1804. a pleasant morning Some men out hunting. G. Drewyer & Peter [Cruzatte] Returned from the Zottoes village found no Indians it is Supposed by the Signs they Saw that they were all out in the praries hunting buffelow. Collins killed 2 Deer J<sup>o</sup> Fields killed 1 Turkey to day.

Thursday July 26<sup>th</sup> 1804. pleasant morning Some men out hunting. G. Drewyer killed 2 Deer & one Turkey. the Party Generally busy dressing Skins all the latter part of the day the wind blew hard from the S. a number of beaver has been caught here since we arrived at this place they appear to be very plenty on this River.

Friday July 27<sup>th</sup> 1804. cloudy morning. the Boat loaded. The Horses Swam over the River. We Set out under Sail about one o'clock proceeded on very well passed along high wood land on the South Side & praries on the N. Side hills 2 miles back of those low bottom praries. Shannon killed one Deer today. towards evening we Saw Sign of Elk on the South Side Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went out to hunt on Shore little above we passed along a prarie on S. S. We passed many Sand bars. the River very crooked. we came about 15 miles & and Camped on the bank of a high handsome prarie on the S. S.<sup>2</sup> Some lofty Cotton wood in

<sup>1</sup> Here the party went into camp for several days in order to hold a council with the Oto Indians on the lower Platte, "to let them know of the Change of Government the wishes of our government to Cultivate friendship with them, the Objects of our journey and to present them with a flag and Some Small presents." Clark. Clark states that the day's journey was one of ten miles, which would place the camp a mile above the old mouth of Mosquito Creek and fourteen miles below the Union Pacific Railway bridge across the Missouri at Omaha.

<sup>2</sup> On the site of Omaha. Coues mistakenly states that the expedition was already past the sites of Omaha and Council Bluffs.

Groves along this bank the 2 men which were with the Horses did not join us to night.

Saturday July 28<sup>th</sup> 1804. Cloudy morning we Set out early proceeded on past a h. bottom prairie on N. S. back of these prairies a high Ridge with Some Timbers on it, & in the vallies near the prairie above these prairies the hills made in close & Steep to the River. a number of high round knobs on those hills which are bare from Timber. Some Timber in the vallies we passed the mouth of a Small Creek which comes in behind an Island from among those Ridges which is named Round Knob Creek.<sup>1</sup> the land op<sup>te</sup> on the S. S. is low the Timber mostly Cotton wood. G. Drewyer came to the bank with the horses, brought in a Deer which he killed The wind hard from the N. E. Detained us Some time we proceeded on passt a high bank on S. S. thin Timbers on the N. S. G. Drewyer found three of the Zotau<sup>2</sup> Indians Dressing an *Elk*. they were friendly and Gave him a part of it and one of them came with him in order to find the Boat. Drewyer killed one Deer & joined us brought the Indian with him, where we was Camped on the North Side of the River in Timbered land below an Isl<sup>d</sup> & prairie.<sup>3</sup>

Sunday July 29<sup>th</sup> 1804. Rain all last night. Cloudy morning. we Set out Early. J<sup>o</sup> Barter<sup>4</sup> a Frenchman who could Speak the Zoteau language went with the Indian in order to Git as many of them together as possable & bring them to the River above this place So that we may see & treat with them & C. we proceded on along a large bottom prairie on N. S. passed a Small Creek on N. S. called Boyer Creek<sup>5</sup> about noon we came to high land on the S. S. where we Stopped to Dine. & jerk our meat which Drewyer brought to us. Willard sent back to last nights camp for his Tommahawk which he left we Delayed about 2 hours, caught Several of the largest cat fish we have ever caught in this River.

<sup>1</sup> Clark calls it Indian Knob Creek, and Floyd, Beaver Creek. It is modern Pigeon Creek, which joins the Missouri near Crescent City, Iowa, a few miles above Council Bluffs.

<sup>2</sup> The Oto tribe of Indians.

<sup>3</sup> In Pottawattamie County, Iowa, a mile below the mouth of Boyer River.

<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere than in Ordway's journal he is called "La Liberty." The giving of his real name by Ordway should make possible, at last, the identification of this member of the expedition. Thus far, however, I have not succeeded in identifying him. Possibly he is the Joab Barton who died near Jefferson City about 1820, for whom see Houck, *Missouri*, I, 211.

<sup>5</sup> Still known as Boyer River. It is a considerable stream of west-central Iowa.

(one Swallowed a hook bit off] the line, caught the Same G. hook) the Missouri is much more crooked since we passed the Great River Platte than before but not so Rapid in general; more praries the Timber Scarser & C. The Timber mostly cottonwood except on the hills which is oak Black Walnut hickery Elm Basswood & C. Willard lost his rifle in a large Creek called Boyer N. S. came back for help to find it. the white pearogue went back with him & got out his Rifle, which was sunk deep in the mud, we proceded on along a round bend & prarie on N. S. We Camped on the North Side in a thin Grove of cotton wood.

Monday July 30<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out very early this morning in order to find a good place to camp & wait for the Zotteaus Indians to come in & C we proceded on pass<sup>d</sup> where G. Drewyer camped last night. The white Horse dyed last night. fell down the Bank being weak by gitting filled with water swimming the Missouri on 28<sup>th</sup> ul<sup>t</sup> G. Drewyer killed one Deer. we proceded on past a high bank & bottom prarie arived at high blufs on S. S. we camped about 7 oClock close under the foot of the bluffs in a Strip of woods which make along under the Ridge to the River the Timber is copper nut white oak Black walnut Elm bass wood or lynn hickery & C. below this handsome bottom prarie, above the Timber and bluffs is a beautiful high prarie, I think it is the Smothest & prittyset place for a Town I ever Saw. back of this high large prarie, their is uneven praries Some Timber in the vallies & on the branches & C. J<sup>o</sup> Fields & Reuben went hunting J<sup>o</sup> killed & brought in an animel which the French call a brarow<sup>1</sup> (we hoisted the american Flag & C. expect the Zottous &<sup>e</sup> this animel Resembles our Ground hogs in colour & Shape nearly but the head like a dogs. four feet like a bear especially the claws. Inside like a hog long teeth they live on flyes & bugs & C. and dig in the Ground like a G. Hog they Say they gravel like a possom. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis had this animel Skined [and] the Skin Stuffed in order to send back to S<sup>t</sup> Louis; the 2 hunters killed 3 deer took out the horses to bring them in. This place is named Counsel Bluffs.<sup>2</sup> Lat<sup>e</sup> 41°, 17<sup>m</sup> 00 North.

Tuesday July 31<sup>st</sup> 1804. Pleasant & Cool this morning. J<sup>o</sup> Fields did not Return with the horses last night. they returned this morning with out them & Set out with 2 more men to hunt

<sup>1</sup> Corruption of *blaireau*, the French name for the badger.

<sup>2</sup> Not to be confused with modern Council Bluffs, Iowa, some fifteen miles south of this point; the camp was located in southeastern Washington County, Nebr. At a later time Fort Calhoun was built near here.

them George Drewyer killed a fat Buck this morning & caught a young Beaver in a trap last night which he keeps in order to tame (which is easy to do a number traps set in the evening on the opposite Side on a point, where there is a very large Sand bar back of the bar is a young Groth of cotton wood and back of that a bottom prairie which extends back to the Ridge which appears to be about 4 or 5 miles back from this River. the Missouri is very crooked courses on one Side or the other all the way from the Great River Platte, but the current not so Swift as below. Sergeant Floyd has been sick several days but now is getting some better. we expected the Zotteau nation of Indians to day & the man which went for them but they did not come. The reason is as we expect that they were so much scattered hunting that it takes some time for them to get ready but we wait for them.

August 1<sup>st</sup> 1804. Wednesday. a fair morning. 2 men out hunting the Horses not found. 1 large beaver caught last night in G. Drewyers trap. Drewyer went to hunt for the Horses. Shields went out a short time and killed & brought in a Deer; the wind from S. E. J<sup>o</sup> Fields killed & brought in a Deer. George Gibson killed a fat Buck brought in the Skin & Tallow & some of the meat & C.

Thursday 2<sup>nd</sup> Cool & pleasant this morning. 2 beaver caught in the traps last night. one of them gnawed off [f] his leg he being large & got away. G. Drewyer returned found the Horses & killed a fine Elk & brought it all in; Labuche went out and killed & brought in one Deer. Collins killed a very fat Buck weighed 134 pounds willard & he brought in only the quarters R. Fields killed a faun. this afternoon cloudy. the wind Southerly. appearance of rain, Peter Cruset killed one fine Buck & brought it in about 14 of the Zottous Indians arrived here at Dusk. 2 Guns fired from our Bow peace, we gave them some provisions they appear to be friendly & C.

Friday 3<sup>rd</sup> a foggy morning. no Diew last night This morning the two Captains held a Counsel With the Zottous Indians & made 6 Chiefs under the american government, they all recd their medal & other presents With Great kindness & thankfulness they all appeared to be Glad that they had got freed from all other powers & C. they made some very sensible Speeches Smoked and drank with us. Shook hands and parted. Jo<sup>o</sup> Barter the man who went for those Indians Set out from their

camp a day before them & has not returned.<sup>1</sup> we Set out about 3 oClock P. M. proceeded on Round a large Sand bar & camped on the S. S. the Musketoes verry bad. Some place near Council Bluff is arround the most proper place for a trading house as their are there three or four nations, the ottas Ponies & Mahar<sup>2</sup> & C.

Saturday 4<sup>th</sup> at 7 oClock last night, a violent wind from the N. W. & thunder & rain which lasted about an hour. then ceased blowing but hard rain followed, all set out eairly this morning proceeded on through a narrow part of the River which is filled with Snags & logs the River in many places is confined within 200 yards (Reed went back for knife<sup>3</sup>) we passed an Old Trading house where one of our party pass<sup>d</sup> 2 years P. C. [Pierre Cruzatte] trading with the Mahar; & ponies,—above that we pass<sup>d</sup> a Small Creek<sup>4</sup> which comes in behind a large Sand bar this Creek is the outlet of 3 ponds which make in from towards the hills. the Bottom and high praries extends along Both Sides of the River the most of this days march, some young Groves of cotton wood on the points we Road 10½ miles and Camped on the S. S.<sup>5</sup> on a high bank of willow.

Sunday 5<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set out eairly proceeded on till about 7 oClock. a Shower came up from N. W. Some wind attending it. which Detained us about 2 hours. we then proceded on

<sup>1</sup> He never returned, being the one man who was permanently lost during the entire course of the expedition. For the last news concerning him see the entry for August 18. Clark regarded him as a deserter.

<sup>2</sup> The Oto, Pawnee, and Omaha tribes.

<sup>3</sup> He improved the opportunity thus afforded to desert. Of this we shall hear more shortly.

<sup>4</sup> To which the name Council Creek was given. According to Coues it is not identifiable today.

<sup>5</sup> In Washington County, Nebr., near the 700 mile point of the Missouri as shown on the M. R. C. map, according to Coues. However, a comparison of Clark's measurements of the river from the camp at Council Bluffs to the mouth of the Little Sioux with those on the M. R. C. map shows that his distances from day to day are about twice as great as those represented on the latter. Clark makes the distance from Council Bluffs to Soldier Creek, 35½ miles, and to the Little Sioux, 79 miles; the distances given on the M. R. C. map are respectively 17 and 40 miles. This discrepancy between the two sets of measurements is doubtless due chiefly to the changes that have taken place in the course of the Missouri in the century that has intervened. To determine the location of the camps of August 4, 6, and 7, therefore, it is necessary to halve Clark's distances when applied to the M. R. C. map.

Round Sand bars. Delayed a Short time at 12 o. c. for Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis to take m. observation, proceeded on along the Bank of a large prairie one of the men kil<sup>d</sup> a large spotted bull Snake under the bank a number of birds which live in the bank [were] flying about this Snake it is supposed the Snake charm[ed] them. a head wind. we proceeded on round a long bend. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went on Shore towards evening in the point of Cottonwood & grape Vines the grape plenty C. Clark was at the River below the this point which is only 370 yards across. & 12 miles round. C. Clark killed a Turkey & came to the Boat at dark, where we had arvd ab<sup>t</sup> 18 miles. Camped on the N. S. of the Missouri below an Island.<sup>1</sup>

Monday 6<sup>th</sup> a violent storm came up about 12 oClock last night of wind & rain from N. W. we set out early this morning, passed a large Is<sup>ld</sup> on N. S. back of this Is<sup>ld</sup> comes in a Creek Called the *Soldiers* R. on N. S. as big as the Nardaway R. at the mouth passed round bends & Sand bars & a prairie on S. S. & Groves of cottenwood on the bank, on N. S. near the River is a Spit of cottenwood timber but praries back of of that Generally. M. B. Reed who went back on 4<sup>th</sup> ul<sup>t</sup> has not returned yet nor La Liberty who went for the Indians has not returned we expect he got lost attempting to come to us from the nation but we have all reason to think that Reed has deserted.<sup>2</sup> we came 20½ miles this day & camped on the S. S. of the River,<sup>3</sup> George Drewyer Joined us this afternoon & fetched 2 Deer & one faun & C.

Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup> last night about 8 oClock a Storm from N. W. of wind and rain which lasted about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour. the Musketoes very troublesome last night we set out late this morning. the wind N. we proceeded on round bends & Sand bars & C.

<sup>1</sup> In Harrison County, Iowa, about one mile below the mouth of Soldier Creek.

<sup>2</sup> Floyd gives in his entry for August 7 the best account of Reed's desertion: "on the 4<sup>th</sup> of this month one of ouer men by the name of Moses B. Reed went Back to ouer Camp where we had Left in the morning, to Git his Knife which he Had Left at the Camp the Boat went on and He Did not Return, that night nor the next day nor Night, pon examining his nap-Sack we found that he had taken his Cloas and all His powder and Balles, and had hid them out that night and had made that an excuse to Desarte from us with out aney Jest Case we never minded the Said man until the 7<sup>th</sup> we Sent 4 men after him we expect he will make for the ottoe town as it is not mor than 2 days Journey from where he Run away from us."

<sup>3</sup> Near the boundary between Burt and Washington counties, Nebr.



till about 12 o'clock we then sent G. Drewyer W. Bratton R. Fields & W. Labuche Back to the Ottaw's village after M. B. Reed who had deserted from us with orders to fetch him dead or alive, and to look for La Liberty who was lost as we expect with a publick horse. they have orders to bring them all if they can find them to the Mahar village where we are to wait their arrival; we Roed on about 18 miles & Camped on the N. S. of the Missouri.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday 8<sup>th</sup> we Set out at the usual time this morning at about 2 miles pass<sup>d</sup> a part of the River choked up with logs & Snags. So that we found it difficult to pass through with Safety. the wind from N. W. one of the Soldiers Dame<sup>2</sup> killed a pillican on a Sand Island, we passed the mouth of little River Des Cueoux or Stone R.<sup>3</sup> on N. S. this River is about 80 y<sup>d</sup> wide & navigable for perogues for a considerable distance it contains a Great quantity of fish. common to the country. this Stone R. as we are told runs through or from a large lake<sup>4</sup> a long distance from the Mouth 20<sup>m</sup> L. S. in the afternoon Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & Collins went out hunting Collins killed an Elk. the Cap<sup>t</sup> shot several times at one but his rifle carried a Small Ball took 2 men went to hunt it and he did not git it, we saw the sand bars covered white with pillicans<sup>5</sup> this afternoon Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Shot one which had a bag under his neck & bill which held 5 Gallons of Water. we Roed about 16 mil<sup>s</sup> and Camped on N. S. of the Missouri River at a willow bank

Thursday 9<sup>th</sup> a foggy morning which detained us till past 7 o'clock at which time we Set out under a gentle Breeze from S. E. we passed Round Several points of high wood land Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & Sg<sup>t</sup> Floyd went out hunting on S. S. came 11 miles by 12 O. C. where the River had formerly cut across a bend where it had Broke through a narrow Stripe of woods on each side of the River, the old channel in the above mentioned bend is ponds &

<sup>1</sup> In Harrison County, Iowa, a few miles south of the mouth of Little Sioux River.

<sup>2</sup> John Dame, one of the soldiers who was sent back from Fort Mandan with the barge in the spring of 1805.

<sup>3</sup> Stone River is the English equivalent for the Indian name of the river; while Little Sioux is the designation given it by the French. The Little Sioux (present name) rises in Dickinson County, Iowa, near the Minnesota boundary.

<sup>4</sup> "called Desprece." Clark. This is a corruption of *D'Esprits*, the French name for modern Spirit Lake, in Dickinson County, Iowa.

<sup>5</sup> "there was better than 5 or 6000 of them flying they kept before Us one day." Whitehouse.

Islands. the hills are a Great distance from the River this Several days. the land on the River is low chiefly covered with cottonwood & Grape vines & C. the Grapes are verry plenty on the River for this Several days. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed a Turkey & Joined us towards evening. we camped on S. S. of the River<sup>1</sup> The Musquetoes more troublesome than ever.

Friday 10<sup>th</sup> we Set off eairly a fair day. Some fish & one Beaver caught last night. we passed a place where the River had cut through & Shortened the river Several miles, we passed [a] high Ridge of prarie land on S. S. Smooth plains back from the river, the Timber Scarse a great number of Elk Sign on the Sand beaches & C. we passed high cliffs on S. S. about 60 feet from the Surface of the of Sand Stone. the ridge on the top is covered with Short Grass & Some bushes & C. the wind hard from the S. W. (sailed some) we came 22½ miles this day & camped on a sand bar N. S. of the Missouri River.<sup>2</sup>

Saturday 11<sup>th</sup> hard Showers this morning commenced at day break & lasted & detained us about an hour, hard wind from S. W. under it we passed a Round knob on a high Ridge 300 feet high near the River S. S. Where we See a Grave where an Indian chief was buried 4 years ago called the *Black bird* of the *Mahar* Nation. this Blackbird<sup>3</sup> was a great king among his

<sup>1</sup> Clark, Floyd, and Ordway unite in saying the camp was on the south (or Nebraska) side of the river; Gass and Whitehouse locate it on the Iowa side. Clark's statements of distances in this portion of the route vary so much from those shown on the M. R. C. map that the location of today's camp as also of those for several days following can only be approximated. On the M. R. C. map the distance from the Little Sioux River to Blackbird's grave (passed August 11) is 32 miles; Clark's daily calculations make the distance 54½ miles.

<sup>2</sup> In Monona County, Iowa, probably about opposite the north end of modern Blue Lake.

<sup>3</sup> Blackbird seems to have been a veritable redskin Borgia. Brackenridge, who ascended the Missouri in 1811, after describing the burial place, writes: "This chief was as famous in his life time amongst all the nations in this part of the world, as Tamerlane or Bajazet were in the plains of Asia; a superstitious awe is still paid to his grave. Yet, the secret of his greatness was nothing more than a quantity of arsenic, which he had procured from some trader. He denounced death against anyone who displeased him, or opposed his wishes; it is therefore not surprising that he, who held at his disposal the lives of others, should possess unlimited power, and excite universal terror." *Early Western Travels*, VI, 81-82. From a letter, a copy of which is before me, written by Mitchell Vincent of Onawa, Iowa, to Prof. James D. Butler of Madison, April 6, 1895, I take the following: "From my window I see the hill of Blackbird whose burial upon his horse is described by Irving [in *Astoria*]. The mound over him described by Lewis and Clark as twelve feet in diameter and six feet

people they carry him provision at certain times &. C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & Clark went up to the grave & carried a white flag & put up on the pole which stood on the grave which was a round heap (9 miles by land from below nation) we proceeded on the wind hard Some Thunder the river verrey crooked, after we passed this hill we passed a bend of cottonwood Timber on N. S. we came about 18 miles & camped on the N. S. in a bend of the River.

Sunday 12<sup>th</sup> A fair morning. we Set off eairly this morning. proceeded on round a bend which was 18 miles Round by water & only little better than half a mile a cross by land, S. S. we Sailed on with a S. E. wind. passed a Red Ceeder Bluff on S. S. abo<sup>t</sup> 200 feet high the course bearing North. the land on the N. S. is low the Timber cottenwood & large willows, & Subject to overflows Grapes &. C. in abundance we heard a prarie woolf bark on the bank N. S. it resembled our Indian dogs. we camped on a Sand bar s. Side of the Missouri River.<sup>1</sup>

Monday 13<sup>th</sup> we Set out eairly. proceeded on under a gentle Breese from Southard we passed the Mouth of the Mahar Creek<sup>2</sup> below an Island S. Side of the Missouri R. we proceeded on to the lower point of another Island N. S. opposite to which we Camped on S. Side Near the Mahar Village. I and 3 more of the party went out to the Village<sup>3</sup> or to the place where it formerly stood. we passed through high Grass in the low prarie & came to the Mahar Creek on our way. proceeded along [the] Creek till we came to 3 forks which came in near together below the Village. we crossed the North branch and proceeded along the South branch which was verrey fatiguing for the high Grass Sunflowers & thistles & C all of which were above

high is now an elevation scarcely noticeable. I saw it last summer—a few fragments of bones upon the surface.”

Irving, in *Astoria*, has given an account of Blackbird's career. In 1832 George Catlin carried away his skull, and it may now be seen in the National Museum at Washington.

<sup>1</sup> Floyd says the camp was on a sand bar in the middle of the river, and Gass states that it was “on a sand island.” Whitehouse and Clark agree with Ordway that it was on the Nebraska side of the river. Coues attempts to locate it in southern Woodbury County, Iowa.

<sup>2</sup> Named after the Omaha tribe of Indians and still called Omaha Creek; it is in Dakota County, Nebr.

<sup>3</sup> “Detached Sergt. Ordway Peter Cruzatt, George Shannon, Werner & Carsn [Carson] to the Mahar Village with a flag & Some Tobacco to envite the Nation to See & talk with us on tomorrow.” Clark.

10 feet high, a great quantity of wild peas among those weeds, we broke our way through them till we came to where their had been a village of about 300 Cabbins called the Mahar village. it was burned about 4 years ago immediately after near half the Nation died with the Small pox, which was as I was informed about 400. we found none of the natives about the place they were out hunting the Buffelows, we ascended the hill above the village on which was all the Graves of the former I Saw the grave also where the grand chief of the Punckhas<sup>1</sup> was buried about the Same time the Mahars were & C. & C. we Camped on the hill about 5 miles from the Boats we Struck up a fire the Musquetoos verry troublesome, we were in great want of warter but found none.

Tuesday 14<sup>th</sup> we Set out at light & walked along down the hill past the Graves. we Saw also number of large holes in the Ground where they used to hide their peltry & C. in, when they went out hunting and when they returned they would dig it out again. I put up a paper on a pole Stuck in a round hill, as a Signal for G. Drewyer & C. then we crossed a Small run which came in to the bottom from behind the hills, we then crossed this bottom prairie which is high & verry rich & formed a handsome vallie for a long distance back between the hills which is nearly half a mile wide across above the village the Mahar Creek makes down along the South Side next to the hills, we crossed the creek about 10 y<sup>ds</sup> wide and ascended the hill below the creek we see a number of beaten pathes leading in different directtions, but no Signs of any being their lately. we walked along the ridge which is high prairie all back as far as my [eye] could behold. we expected to have found Some corn or Something growing some where in the bottom but we could not see any appearence of anything being planted this year, we walked along the Ridge about 1½ miles then descended the hill & passed along round S. S. of a long pond which lay between the hills & the Missouri, we crossed the out let of the pond which is verry mirry along the edge of the pond. we came to the Missouri and went up. crossed the mouth of the Mahar creek, & Returned to the Boats about 10 oClock A. M. the Grapes are verry pleanty near the Missouri R.

<sup>1</sup> The Ponca tribe.

Wednesday 15<sup>th</sup> a pleasant morning, Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 10 of the party went out to the Mahar Creek<sup>1</sup> in order to catch some fish & they caught & brought in upwards of 300 different Sorts of fine fish.<sup>2</sup> Some Salmon some bass pike & C. & C. We Saw a Smoke arise on the N. Side of the Missouri River 3 men went over to See if their was any Indians, they Returned without finding any Indians; hard wind F. N. w. A new mast made for the Batteaux to day.

Thursday 16<sup>th</sup> a pleasant morning. the party in high Spirits fiddleing & dancing last night. I was up all night on duty, the latter part of the night verry cold, for the month [of] august Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & 12 of the party went out to the Mahar Creek a fishing they returned in the afternoon with more than a barrell or in numbers 709. 167 of them pike of a Tolorable size of exelent fish of different Sorts & Sizes one beaver caught to day, hoisted our mast & C.

Friday 17<sup>th</sup> of August 1804. a clear morning, the wind from S. E. we are yet waiting here for G. Drewyer & the 3 men who were with him, the men remained in camp reparing the arms & Cloathing & C. Labuche who was one of the Messengers ariv<sup>d</sup> towards evening Informed us that Drewyer & the Zottaus Chiefs was comming near with the Deserter<sup>3</sup> & C.

Saturday 18<sup>th</sup> pleasant, G. Drewyer & the Zottaus Returned. brought with them Reed the deserter, likewise the Big chief of the Zottaus called the Big horse,<sup>4</sup> and a nother chief called petevaliar<sup>5</sup> of Missouri & a Frenchman & 7 of the wariers came for the purpose of treating with the Mahas & C. Reed tried & punished towards evening;<sup>6</sup> the Chiefs verry Sorrey & C. as Liberty (had been at the village) has not returned with Drewyer

<sup>1</sup> Clark writes that the creek was "Damed" by beavers, which Biddle alters to "damned"—a procedure not commonly attributed to quadrupeds.

<sup>2</sup> They were taken with "trails or brush nets." Gass.

<sup>3</sup> Moses B. Reed. For his desertion see *ante*, journal entries of August 4 and 6. For his punishment see *post*, entry of August 18. Clark records (August 17) that the pursuing party caught La Liberty also, "but he decived them and got away."

<sup>4</sup> The Big Horse was a well-known chief of the Oto tribe. At the time of Long's expedition (1819-20) he is spoken of as the principal chief.

<sup>5</sup> Called Little Thief by Clark.

<sup>6</sup> Whitehouse's record of Reed's punishment is equally laconic. It is described by Clark as follows: "[we] proceeded to the trial of Reed, he confessed that he 'Deserted & stold a public Rifle Shot-pouch Powder & Ball' and requested we would be as favourable with him as we Could consistantly with our

Aug<sup>t</sup> Sunday 19<sup>th</sup> pleasant S wind, the Indians got up their horses to water them, all the Indians appear to be friendly. at about the hour of 9 o'clock Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark read a Speech to the Indians & counseled with them. Gave one a medel & the rest they gave commissions & made them all chiefs & C. they appeared to be willing to make peace with the Mahars & all other nations the Captains Gave them Some Small articles of Goods & C. & gave them provisions while they remained with us. the most of this day taken up in giving the Indians Good counsel & C. Sg<sup>t</sup> Floyd taken verry Suddenly Ill this morning with a collick. Cap<sup>t</sup> M. Lewis invited the above petevaliar [and] the Big Chief to go to see the presidant & C. & C.

Aug.<sup>t</sup> Monday 20<sup>th</sup> pleasant, we Set off[f] under a gentle Breeze from S. E, the Indians chiefs Set out to return to their village. Sg<sup>t</sup> Floyd worse than he was yesterday we Sailed on verry well till noon when we came too on S. S. Serg<sup>t</sup> Charles Floyd Expired directly after we halted a little past the middle of the day.<sup>1</sup> he was laid out in the Best Manner possable. we proceeded on to the first hills N. S. there we dug the Grave<sup>2</sup> on a handsome Sightly Round knob close to the Bank. we buried him with the honours of war. the usal Serrymony performed (by Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis as custommary in a Settlement, we put a red ceeder post hughn [hewed] & branded his name date & C. we named those Bluffs Sergeant Charles Floyds Bluffs Distant from the

Oathes—which we were and only Sentenced him to run the Gantlet four times through the Party & that each man with 9 Swichies Should punish him and for him not to be considered in future as one of the Party. The three principal Chiefs petitioned for Pardin for this man after we explained the injurey such men could doe them by false representations, & explaing the Customs of our Countrey they were all Satisfied with the propriety of the Sentence & was Witness to the punishment."

In after years Bratton was in the habit of relating to his children that instead of switches the men used their ramrods on the culprit, and that the blows were well laid on, in the fear that anyone showing leniency would incur similar punishment. Gass, Introduction, p. xxv.

<sup>1</sup> Clark gives a fuller account of Floyd's illness and death. He "Died with a great deal of Composure \* \* \* This Man at all times gave us proofs of his firmness and Determined resolution to doe Service to his Countrey and honor to himself."

<sup>2</sup> Within the limits of Sioux City, Iowa. The grave was long a noted landmark to voyagers upon the Missouri. Having been partly washed away by the river, in 1857 Floyd's remains were reinterred in a safer place about an eighth of a mile farther back. In 1901 a monumental shaft to the dead sergeant was dedicated with fitting ceremony.

Mouth of the Missouri 949½ miles by water,<sup>1</sup> we then proceeded on a short distance to a creek which we Call Floyds Creek<sup>2</sup> (came 15. or 18. miles to day where we Camped N. S.

<sup>1</sup> On the M. R. C. map the distance is given as 805 miles.

<sup>2</sup> Still called Floyd River. It drains several counties of northwestern Iowa, and joins the Missouri within the limits of Sioux City.

## CHAPTER IV

### FROM FLOYD'S CREEK TO TETON RIVER, AUGUST 21- SEPTEMBER 24, 1804

Tuesday Aug<sup>t</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> we Set off eairly this morning under a hard Breeze from the S. we proceeded on verry well passed a large Sand bar on N. S. the wind blew so hard that we were obledged to take a reefe in our Sail. & the Sand blew So thick from the Sand bars that we could not see the channel far ahead & it filled the air before us about a mile. we Saw Several woolves on S<sup>d</sup> Sand beach we passed the Mouth of the Grand River de Souix<sup>1</sup> close above a high clay Bluff below s<sup>d</sup> Sand bar on the N. S. the white pearogue could hardly Sail for want of Ballass, we put in several kegs of pork & C. Shannon went out to hunt on N. S. we proceeded on 20 odd miles to day. & camped on S. S.<sup>2</sup> Shannon joined us late. But killed nothing. the man with the horses did not join us yet.

Wednesday 22<sup>d</sup> August 1804. we Set off eairly the current verry Swift. the wind hard from the South. we proceeded on round a bend & Sand bar N. S. the hills make to the River on S. S. below the hills their is Some large Timber of cottonwood Elm Maple & C. Some oak & ceeder on the Bluffs. we halted under the Bluffs & found different kinds of oar which has the appearence of brass, copperas alum & C. & C. all of which has a Sulphear Smell. Broken praries Back. The 2 men who had been with the horses from the Mahars village, joined us below S<sup>d</sup> Bluffs. had killed 2 Deer 2 other men went on with the horses hunting .G. Drewyer caught one Beaver last night. a small creek comes in close above s<sup>d</sup> Bluffs which we call Roloje Cr.<sup>3</sup> on S. S. we proceeded on under a fine Breeze from the South.

<sup>1</sup> The Big Sioux rises in eastern South Dakota; it forms the boundary between Iowa and South Dakota from the northern boundary of the former state to its mouth. The latter is only about four miles above the mouth of Floyd River.

<sup>2</sup> In Dakota County, Nebr., a few miles from the Dixon County line.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Iowa Creek, in Dixon County, Nebr.







passed a Red cedar Bluff on the South Side & little above on the Same Side we passed an Alum Stone clift about 50 feet high & a great number of birds nests near the top of the clift. we Sailed on to a prairie where we Camped on N. S.<sup>1</sup> after Sailing 19 miles back of s<sup>d</sup> prairie is a large pond we see a great deal of Elk Sign.

Thursday 23<sup>rd</sup> we set off eairly 2 men went out hunting the wind favourable from the South. G. Drewyer and J<sup>o</sup> Fields went out hunting on N. S. passt on round a bend Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark walked on Shore a Short time & killed a fine Buck, we halted to Breakfast 2 Elk Swam the River close by the Boat both of them we wounded at the same time J<sup>o</sup> Fields came to the Boat informed us that he had killed a Bull Buffelow, Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & myself & 10 more of the party went out Bucherd & Brought it to the Boat, Collins killed a faun Deer. the 2 hunters on the South Side came to the Boat with 2 Deer which they had killed, we then proceeded on past a Beautiful bottom prairie N. S. which is verry large & wide I walked about 1 mile &  $\frac{1}{2}$  in it when I went for the ab<sup>o</sup> ment. [above mentioned] Buffelow, I Saw the beds & Signs of a great many more Buffelow But this was the first I ever Saw & as great a curiosity to me. we halted in a bend opposite a Sand Is<sup>ld</sup> the wind blew so hard that it detained us the most of the afternoon. So we pickled down our Buffelow meat & jerked the venison. the Sand blew so thick from the sand Island that we could not see across the River for a long time, towards evening the wind abated & we proceeded on to the head op s<sup>d</sup> Sand Is<sup>d</sup> & camped on S. S.<sup>2</sup> one of the party wounded an Elk after we landed.

Friday 24<sup>th</sup> Some Small Showers of rain the latter part of last night. rainy morning. we Set off about Sunrise, proceeded on past a high Bottom of wood land large cottonwood Elms & C. Some Small Sized timber on N. S. near the river. Smooth praries back from the River. we halted [and] took Breakfast at high Ragged Bluffs on S. S. a number of round knobs on S<sup>d</sup> Bluffs covered with verry Short Grass Some ceeder on the edge of the Bluff along under those Bluffs we found a great quantity of red berries which grows on a handsome bush about as high as I could reach. these Berries are a little sour (Some called Rabbit berries)<sup>3</sup> (English) But pleasant to the taste we found also a burning

<sup>1</sup> In the vicinity of the town of Elk Point, S. Dak.

<sup>2</sup> In the vicinity of Ionia, Dixon County, Nebr.

<sup>3</sup> The buffalo-berry or beef-suet tree, *Shepherdia argentea*, according to Coues.



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bank or Bluff which was verry high & had fire in it. it had a Sulphas Smell, we found in it a great quantity of asney & a great quantity of different kinds of mineral Substance, &C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went out hunting on S. S. we proceeded on passed the upper end of the Butiful Bottom prarie. there the high butiful prarie commenced which is extensive & Smooth. Back about 2 miles we are informed that their is a verry high hill called Hills of the little Devils by the natives & they amagan that it is inhabited by little people with Big heads & they are afraid to go up to them for fear they will shoot them with their Bows & arrows, we passed the mouth of White Stone River,<sup>1</sup> which came in above the high prarie their is large points of land covered with Timber on boath sides of the river Such as cottenwood ash Elm & C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark joined us towards evening had killed 2 Buck, Elk & 1 faun. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & 10 more of the party [went out] in order to fetch the meat in, they returned with the meat, which was jurked at the Same time we had a fine Shower of Rain which lasted ab<sup>t</sup> half an hour, at which place we Camped on South Side.<sup>2</sup> the Musquetoos troublesome.

Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> 2 men of the party caught 9 cat fish last night 5 of them verry large. a fair & pleasant morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & Clark & 10 more of the party [set out to mark the hill of the little devils] I was with them. we went back to the mouth of White Stone or little peoples Rivers in the white pearogue and walked hard 3 hours from the Missouri to git to the hills we crossed White Stone River on our way, when we came near the hill<sup>3</sup> we Saw a great flock of Birds flying about the top of it we ascended the hill found none of the little people ther we Saw Several holes in the ground. Some Stone [word illegible] & C. we could See a Great distance in every direction which the land is verry Rich. high Smooth praries & some fine Bottom, when we was on the Top of the hills of the little Devils (which is 60 feet high) we Saw Several gangs of Buffelow at a considerable distance from us we was allmost famished for the want of warter. the sun beat down verry hot the air Sultry. we went the highest course to the River of little children [the Vermilion]

<sup>1</sup> This is a translation of the Indian name for the river, which Coues says would more properly be rendered Smoky-earth. It is the modern Vermilion River.

<sup>2</sup> In Dixon County, Nebr., in the vicinity of modern Lime Creek.

<sup>3</sup> Still known as Spirit Mound; it is located in Clay County, S. Dak. For a description of it see *American Antiquarian*, September, 1891, 289.

from hence after [which] we took a little refreshment. we proceeded on down that R. & Struck our old track & returned back to the pearogue about Sunset, we walked the whole day in the Beautiful prairie found Some plums & grapes, but little Timber. we returned back to the old camp of last night & camped. the Big Boat had set off about 11 A. M. o'clock & proceeded on, we had a little rain this evening, we killed one duck & several Birds only.

Sunday 26<sup>th</sup> we set off early in order to overtake the Boat we came to the Boat ab<sup>t</sup> 9 O. C. A. M. they had not left their last nights camp.<sup>1</sup> G. Shannon had killed an Elk the evening before, they delayed to jurk it & C.; one of the horses lost. Drewyer & one man<sup>2</sup> hunting them we then proceeded on passed a white clay Bluff on S. S. found a fine place of plumbs in a prairie N. S. we proceeded on to the m<sup>o</sup> or little petark (French) little Bow (English)<sup>3</sup> S. S. ab<sup>o</sup> the hill opposite to which we camped on N. S. at petite wave formerly an old Indian village.

Monday 27<sup>th</sup> we heard G. Drewyer hollow before day this morning the pearogue went over early for him he had not found the horses,<sup>4</sup> 2 other men went out to hunt them. 2 of the party caught 12 fine catfish last night. we Set off at Sun rise under a gentle Breeze from the S. E. we Saw a mink under the bank we Sailed on passed a Chalk Bluff on S. S. in the Same Bluff their is a vane of Black Sulphas clay which has the appearance of Slate or stone coal & some kinds of mineral Substance, we proceeded on the Sand blew thick till ab<sup>t</sup> 3 O. C. P. M. passed the Mouth of a large creek called River S<sup>t</sup> Shark Jaque<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Dixon County, Nebr., not far from the western boundary.

<sup>2</sup> The "one man" was Shannon. Before long the party was anxiously seeking news of him, for he lost himself so effectually that he did not find the main party again until September 11.

<sup>3</sup> Named, according to Clark, for an Indian chief, Petite Arc (or Little Bow), whose village was situated for a time at its mouth. Little Bow was an Omaha who seceded for a time from his tribe because of his dissatisfaction with Chief Blackbird. After the death of the latter Little Bow's band rejoined Blackbird's followers. The name Bow Creek still attaches to the stream, which lies in Cedar County, Nebr. The camp this day was in South Dakota, near the boundary between Clay and Yankton counties.

<sup>4</sup> Nor had he found Shannon. He "came up and informed that he could neither find Shannon nor horses, we sent Shields & J. Fields back, to hunt Shannon and the horses." Clark.

<sup>5</sup> The "large creek" is the modern Dakota or James River, one of the two or three most important rivers, the Missouri excepted, of South Dakota, flowing entirely across the state from north to south.

on N. S. here we see a likely young Indian of the Mahar nation. he told us that their camp was near; there is considerable cottonwood Timber about this place, while we were halted here 2 more young Indians came to us. one a Mahar the other a Siew [Sioux] & Serg<sup>t</sup> pryor & 2 more went from the Boat with 2 of the Indians out to their Camp to invite them in to see us especially the chiefs, the other Indian came along and went with us, we proceeded on till dark and camped on a large Sand beach on the N. S.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday 28<sup>th</sup> a pleasant morning we set off early under a fine Breeze from S. E. we proceeded on till Breakfast time we then halted at a large prairie N. S. the Indian left us in order to go to his camp; we proceeded on passed handsome groves of cottonwood Timber on both Sides of the Missouri River. passed high banks high prairie on N. S. handsom & ascending gradually from the river, at 2 o'clock P. M. the wind Blew hard from S. W. the large pearogue drove against the Shore on N. S. & a hole got knocked in her So that it let the water in very rapid they began to unload. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went with Some men from the Big Boat to their assistance. they Soped in a Cappel<sup>2</sup> & C. & made it Safe to cross We then crossed the river on S. S. & Camped to wait the arival of the men who went for the Indians & the Indians in order to counsel with them Some of the party went out hunting we hoisted a flag pole, the 2 men who [had] been out to hunt for the horses returned to the Boat informed us the the horses & Shannon was gone a head, we Saw Several large Bucks run at a distance from our Camp, this place is below a large Island & sand bar a hill & Bluff on the same Side [a] little above Our Camp<sup>3</sup> was in a handsome Bottom & Groves of oak Timber & C. appearance of rain.

Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup> a hard Storm arose from the N. W. of wind & rain about 8 O.C. last night rained considerable part of the night. the men who went for the Indians did not return last night Cloudy morning. Some Thunder, Colter sent on for to find the man that went on with the horses the pearogue repaired. the lading put in the white pearogue; the men engaged making a Towing line out of our Green Elk hides, we have plenty of fine

<sup>1</sup> On a bar reaching out from the Nebraska side of the river, 1½ miles above the mouth of the James. Clark.

<sup>2</sup> "they Stopped the Water from comming in by Stopping in one thing & another." Whitehouse.

<sup>3</sup> In western Cedar County, Nebr., opposite the city of Yankton, S. Dak.



fat cat fish the most of the Time. Several large ones caught last night. The Missouri river affords us plenty of fish, & the Country plenty of all kinds of Game. in the afternoon Sarg<sup>t</sup> pryor & the 2 men who went with him returned to our camp & brought with them 60 Indians of the Souix nation. they Camped on the opposite Shore & did not incline to cross this evening. our Captains Sent<sup>d</sup> them over Some lyed corn & Tobacco & C. Serg<sup>t</sup> pryor informed me that their Town is about 9 miles from the Missouris up the R. Jacque. their Town consisted of ab<sup>t</sup> [blank space in Ms.] lodges<sup>1</sup> which was made of painted red & white dressed Buffelow & Elk Skins & is verry handsome; the Women homley the most of them old, but the young men handsome. G. Drewyer killed one Deer to day.

Thursday 30<sup>th</sup> A foggy morning, a heavy diew last night. Shannon nor Colter did not come to us last night. the fog remained on the River late this morning & so thick that we could not See the Indians camp on the opposite Shore. at about 8 oClock the fog went away. Some of the Indians Swam across the river to git Some breakfast with us, at the hour of 9 oClock the commanding officers had all things in readiness to hold a counsel with the chiefs and warrier of the Souix nation, they Sent a pearogue across for them, they all [c]ame into our Camp in the most friendly manner & C. their was four of them which were always a Singing & playing on their curious Instruments which were as follows, viz.

they had each of them a Thrapple made of a fresh buffelow hide dressed white with Some Small Shot in it and a little bunch of hair tied on it, the head man of the[m] was painted white, the rest of them were painted different colours. When they arived at our Camp & took the commanding officers by the hand 2 Guns was fired from our bow peace. the colours displaying & C. Each man of our party Gave the 4 men of [the] Band a peace of Tobacco, they Sang around our camp during the time of the counsel. Each of those Musicians had War hoop it was made of thickest buffelow hides dressed white covered with thin Goat Skin dress<sup>d</sup> white & ornamented with porcupine quills & feathers & C. and in Such a defensive manner that a M. Ball could not penetrate through it they wore them on their Backs when at practice,

<sup>1</sup> Forty lodges, according to Gass. Clark describes the lodges, each of which contained from ten to fifteen persons. He further records that "a Fat Dog was presented [the white men] as a mark of their Great respect for the party of which they partook hartily and thought it good and well flavored."

But when in attack at war they wear them on their right arm tied fast, the talk was finished by our Comd<sup>g</sup> officers about 4 o'clock, they made five Chiefs & Gave Each a Medal & Gave the whole some preasants. they Gave the Grand Chief which they call in Indian weucha, La liblator<sup>1</sup> in french, a red laced coat & a fine cocked hat & red feather & an american flag & a white Shirt & C. all of which he was much pleased with, they rec<sup>d</sup> all their presents verry thankfully, & divided them among one another & C. the captains Gave the young Boys Some beeds to Shoot for with their Bows & arrows, their was one in particular that beat all the rest. Stuck his arrow every time in the mark & C. after dark we Made a large fire for the Indians to have a war dance, all the young men prepared themselves for the dance. Some of them painted themselves in curious manner Some of the Boys had their faces & foreheads all painted white & C. a drum was prepared the Band began to play on their little Instruments & the drum beat & they Sang [and] the young men commenced dancing around the fire. it always began with a houp & hollow & ended with the Same, and in the intervaes, one of the warrier at a time would rise with his weapen & speak of what he had done in his day, & what warlike actions he had done & C. this they call merrit & C. they would confess how many they had killed & of what nation they were off & how many horses they had Stole & C. they Camped along side of us & behaved honestly & cleaver & C. & C.

N. B. The Chiefs had time untill next morning to give answers to the questions which had been asked them by Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark 1<sup>st</sup> that they Should make peace with their neighbours the Zottous, & Missouries, as for the Mahars and them [they] are at peace with each other.

2<sup>nd</sup> that the head Chief Weucha and four or five more of their nation Should go to visit the Seat of Government in the ensuing Spring, that they might See their Great Father the president & receive his Counsel & C to which they agreed to and expresed a wish to see their G. father.

Friday 31<sup>st</sup> August 1804 pleasant morning the Chiefs not ready to Speak till half past 7 o.C. at which time [occurred] the talk of the chiefs<sup>2</sup> beginning at the oldest the weuche, head chief,

<sup>1</sup> Clark calls him Shake Hand.

<sup>2</sup> Ordway alone of the journalists of the expedition attempted to record the speeches made during the council. Of Weucha's speech Clark merely notes that he "rose and Spoke to some length aproving what we had said and promis-

of the Bob [Bois] Brulee tribe my great father, his 2 sons I See before me this day You see me, and the rest of the Chiefs & warries we are verry poor, we have neither powder, Ball or knives, nor the women at the village has no Cloaths nor our children to war [wear] and wishes that my fathers Sons would be charitable enofe to Give them Some things, as his Brothers gave him a fine Suit of cloaths with a flag, and a Meaddel or Gave him permission to Stop the first trading boat or pearogue that would come up the river to trade with them & C. &. he said he would make peace with or between the paunies and Mahars, as his nation and he would bring chiefs from each nation to the Seat of Government next Spring with him & his chiefs, and that his Situation was Such that he could not leave his nation to go before Spring; and he Said if he Spoke to them it would be better than it would for his Great fathers Sons, for they would hear him better, he Said likewise that he went to the English & they gave him a Meddal & cloaths but when he went to the Spanish they never Gave him any thing to keep the meddal from his Skin, he Says that now you gave me a meddal & cloaths but we are poor as the trader did not come to bring us goods for Some time I wish you would consider & give me Something for our Squaws at home my Brothers,—the Captains told them that they were not traders, that they had only come to make the road open for the traders to come & that in a Short time their would be plenty of traders on with Goods and would Supply their wants on better terms than ever they had got them before.

2<sup>nd</sup> Chief Speaks Mot, thouge, the White Crain my fathers word I have listened to yesterday, and to day it pleases me to See how you have dressed our old Chief. I am a young man, I do not want to take much, my father has made me a chief. I had much Sence But now I think I have more than ever, But what the old chief Said I will agree to & Say & doe as he & you have told me & C. and I wish you to take pity on us for we are poor.

3<sup>d</sup> Chief Speaks His name is *pan-dan-apappy*. I am a young man and know but little, & cannot speak well, But what you have told the old chief I will hear to & will hear him & C.

4<sup>th</sup> Chief Speaks Aweawish a Shaddie La dom my fathers I cannot Speak Much to you, but little, you make our old chief higher than all of us; I am Glad to See him So finely dressed by you sing to pursue the advice." Gass and Whitehouse do not even mention the fact that speeches were made; Whitehouse's entire entry for this day is "a pleasant morning."

& will agree to what you told him, and will doe Every thing you & he Says &

5<sup>th</sup> Chief Speaks his name is Medethunka pertizon—my father the Meddel you gave me gives me a heart to go with my old Chief to See my Great father

4<sup>th</sup> Chief began again, I am not rich but poor, I wish you would have pittty on me, I I was chief when I was a boy, now I am a man you See before you (my 2 fathers) you made my old chief so fine that I will not go to war but take his advise, and burry the tomahawk and knife in the ground and go with my old chief to See my Great father, when I was a young man I went to the Spanish; and did not like their Sayings So well as yours & C. I am glad you come to See my fathers land and all his red children, and the flag you Gave us it is So large as to cover our children, from the heat of the Sun, he Says also that he is willing to make peace with his neighbours, the Zottous and Missouries & C. & C. but the fine meddels that you gave us we will give or Show them, So that they need not take our horses & C. we have got our horses & bows & arrows here but we want a little powder & lead to kill the Buffelows for our horses are poor at this Season & cannot run after them as they can in the Spring & C. their is one tribe of red men my fathers that have not their Ears open, but the old chief & us will do the best we can for you, with regard to the punkaws [Ponca] nation & all others as far as in our power lies & C.

5<sup>th</sup> a warrier Speakes my father I am glad to see how fine you have made the old chief, before now I could not Spare him but now I am willing to let him Go to See my Great fathers; my father as you as you gave us a fine flag we wish you would give a little powder and a little of our Great fathers milk (of whiskey) that we may rejoice under our Great fathers Collours & C. & C. when all was over the most of the warries went across the river, the Chiefs remained till dusk the Commanding officers Shewed them the air gun and a great many other curiosities, which pleased them very much, our Interpreter old M<sup>r</sup> Dournoir<sup>1</sup> left us &

✓ <sup>1</sup> Pierre Dorion. The expedition had met him on June 12, descending the Missouri. Because of his familiarity with the Sioux (having resided with them over twenty years, according to Clark) he was taken back with the expedition in order that he might persuade some of their chiefs to go to Washington to visit the president. He was now commissioned by Lewis and Clark to collect the chiefs of as many bands of Sioux as he could and bring about a peace between them and their neighbors. He was also "to employ any trader to take Some of the Cheifs of each or as many of those nations as he could" to Washington. Clark.

went with his Son in to this nation, the Comd<sup>s</sup> Officers Gave the Indians more Tobacco & corn to take them to their lodges &.C. at dark a blew crain fly[ing] over attempted to lite on our mast of the B. Boat missed it and fill on the Boat one of the men caught and Gave it to one of the Indians, the pearogue crossed with the chiefs and all landed Safe on the opposite Shore. where they camped, directly after a hard Storm arose the wind and rain from the N.W. which lasted 2 hours. rained considerable part of the night, a considerable quantity of fish caught at this place. Gave the Indians Some of them &.C. George Shannon & Colter has not joined us yet. The names of the chiefs above mentioned in Indian

1<sup>st</sup> Weucha

2<sup>nd</sup> Mathuga

3<sup>rd</sup> Pandanapappya

4<sup>th</sup> Anckasweekachappa

5<sup>th</sup> Meadatuncka

N.B. The above place where the last Counsel was held with the Souix nation, as named by Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Calamel Bluff<sup>1</sup> Mineral

N.B. their was Several of the Indians which had Strings of White Bears claws around their necks, which was 3 inches in length & Strung as close as possible to each other on the String all around their necks. all those nations have one language for considerable part of their words &.C.

Saturday 1<sup>st</sup> September 1804, we Set off eairly the frenchman [Dorion] called from the other Shore that they had forgot their tin kittle last evening. the pearogue crossed Brought him to the Boat for his kittle we found it & gave it to him, & 2 fish with it, we proceeded on under an unsteady Breeze from S. W. passed a chalk Bluff on N. S. where we found plenty of fine plumbs, little above is a white clift called the den of the White Bear,<sup>2</sup> we see large holes in the clift which appeared to go Deep into the clift; this clift is about 70 feet high on the top is ragged round knobs & praries all praries on Boath Sides of the river, Some Timber in the vallies, Cottonwood Elm oak &.C. & on the Islands which is covered with Small cottonwood Timber &.C. G. Drewyer went out hunting on N. S. he returned in a Short time had killed a fine Buck Elk; it was all put on board the pearogue, we then proceeded on past Bottom praries to the lower point of a large & well

<sup>1</sup> Calumet Bluff according to Clark's journal (August 28); still so called.

<sup>2</sup> Still called White Bear Clift; it is in Yankton County, about ten miles above the city of Yankton.

Timbered Island where we Camped on N. S.<sup>1</sup> & jerked our Elk, Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went across the river where they was Informed that their was a Deep pond where their is a large Beaver house & about 3 hundred Beaver or more, as they amagine in the pond. The Captains had a curiosity to See the pond & Beaver house; or Cabbins; they returned in the evening, but did not See the pond nor did not Go to it for we had passed it some distance, N.B. we passed in the course of this day a large Island between the two Bluffs covered with timber above the White Bear clift we passed two Islands in Sight of each other the last of which is very large from the Calumet Bluffs covered with young Timber also, the high lands approach the river & in Some places touch on each Side of the Missouri.

Sunday 2<sup>nd</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. a hard Storm arose the latter part of last night  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 1 o.C. of wind & rain from N. W. which lasted ab<sup>t</sup> 2 hours. Cloudy this morning we Set off eairly. Sailed a Short distance with a S. E. wind & in less than 2 hours the wind Shifted in to the N. W. which Blew hard a head, G. Drewyer R. Fields & Collins out hunting this morning on N. S. as we passed or [were] passing a prarie on S. S. we heard Several guns fire which we Supposed to be our hunters. directly we heard them hollow from the Island for help to bring in their Game, R. Fields killed one Buck Elk, and Drewyer killed 2 Elk & Newman & Howard killed one on the opposite Shore; we halted to take Breakfast at 8 o.C. at a Bottom prarie, where their was an ancient fort.<sup>2</sup> the Entrenchment which formed a Circle from the river in the form of a half moon, at the lowest End Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went on Shore with the compass in order to find the angles & the Boats went on to the head of Elk or Bon hommen Is<sup>d</sup> Island, the wind Shifted into the North & Blew So heard that we were obledged to lay by at a high Bluff, ab<sup>t</sup> Elk or Bon hommen Is<sup>ds</sup> handsome high praries back from the river, we found plumb orchads on a Spring run & an amence Site of Grapes as before, we Scareely passed a day as yet on the Missouri, in the time or Season

<sup>1</sup> Near the eastern boundary of Bonhomme County, S. Dak. The island opposite which the camp was pitched still retains the name Bonhomme, which it bore in 1804.

<sup>2</sup> Clark gives an elaborate description of the fortification; but modern authorities agree that the supposed earthworks were in fact only natural formations made by the drifting sand.

<sup>3</sup> The camp for the day was in Knox County, Nebr., opposite the town of Bonhomme, S. Dak.

of them but what we found them in great abundance & C. the weather is Cool & rainy to day Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark returned to the Boat, & Informed us that [there] had been a large ancient fortification made their. Some places remains yet 5 feet high & on one Side of it is nearly Strait across the point & strikes the river, & is more than a mile & half in length & so ancient that Some Trees Stands on the works & C. considerable of cottonwood Timber on the Upper part of this point back from the river is Broken Barren hills which are verry high & Sandy & C.

Monday 3<sup>rd</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. a Cool & pleasant morning we Set off at Sun rise, the wind blew from the west, passed yallow Bluff, Some Stone under the bank near the water. passed round a large sand point N. Side, the Timber Scarce on both Sides of the River.

N. B. a great many Beaver Sign & Cabbins on the river today. We proceeded on a Swift current passed a white Chalk Bluff close above we passed plumb Creek<sup>1</sup> on N. S. which formed a vallie between or in the bluff, we Camped on S. S. in a Grove of cottonwood Timber.<sup>2</sup>

Tuesday 4<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. cold wind from S. W. we Set off earily, proceeded on passed a Small Creek on S. S. where we took breakfast found some plumbs & hack burrys & C. passed a high yallow red ceeder Clift on the S. S. & above the clift we passed the m<sup>o</sup> of a creek called white paint<sup>3</sup> C. the wind Shifted to the South & blew verry hard we hoisted Sail ran verry fast a Short time Broke our mast, we [the] Sand flew from the Sand bars verry thick we landed at 12 o. C. to dine at a large bottom prarie on S. S. opposite to a yallow & blew Clift N. S. we passed the Mouth of the Big Rapid River<sup>4</sup> & ponkias village on S. S. the water Shoots in to the Missouri verry Swift, & has thrown the Sand out, which makes a Sand bar & Sholes from the mouth a considerable distance we Saw 2 Deer, & large flocks of geese up the m<sup>o</sup> of this river; we proceeded on passt a handsom Bottom covered with different kinds of Timber Such as red Ceeder, honey locas, oak arrowwood Elm, Coffee nut & C. we Saw an Indian raft where they had crossed not long before; Drewyer killed one

<sup>1</sup> Modern Emanuel Creek, its mouth a mile above Springfield, Bonhomme County, S. Dak.

<sup>2</sup> In Knox County, Nebr., near the 933 mile point of the Missouri as shown on the M. R. C. map.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Bazile Creek, Knox County, Nebr.

<sup>4</sup> The Niobrara River; it rises in Wyoming and runs in a general easterly direction across northern Nebraska.

Turkey & one duck; we Camped on the South Side in a ceeder Bottom back of which are Steep Cliffs covered with ceeder. N. B. a Smoke was made to find where Shannon had passed, but no tracks found.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. we took a new mast on board, Set off eairly the wind Blew hard from the South we passed a large Island, Reuben Fields J<sup>o</sup> Fields & Drewyer went on the Is<sup>d</sup> hunting; we Sailed on, halted at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 took breakfast at a Small creek called Goat Creek<sup>2</sup> N. S. the Beaver had made a curious dam across near the mouth which made considerable of a pond above found plumbs; 2 men Sent across on the S. S. to hunt on Shore N. B. at ponca River<sup>3</sup> which we passed for the 2 men with the horses & C. passed some handsome Mineral Springs on N. S. under a clift. the 2 men who crossed to hunt the horses come to the Boat in a Short time at a fine Bottom prarie had killed a Deer, we Saw Several Goats<sup>4</sup> on the Side hill on N. S. we proceeded on till 4 oClock & Camped on an Island made a new ceeder mast. the hunters out hunting returned to the Boat & R. Fields killed a fat Buck. Drewyer killed an Elk & Newman killed [a] faun Elk & a faun Deer. tracks of the horses seen where the 2 men pass<sup>d</sup> & C.

Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> a cloudy morning the wind from N. W. We Set off eairly, got fast several times on the Sand bars. could not make much headway with the oars nor poles & were oblided to cross over on N. S. & make use of the Towing line. the current Swift & Shallow. we came to verry long Strait high Raged yellow clifts S. S. Colter came to the Boat had not found Shannon nor the horses But had killed one Buffelow, one Elk, 3 Deer one wolf 5 Turkies & one Goose one Beaver also N. B. the Boat got fast on the Sand bar the [word illegible] Swung, the men all out Got whiskey rainy & cold weather. Reuben Fields killed

<sup>1</sup> Clark reports, on the contrary, that signs of Shannon and Colter were seen, and that Shannon appeared to be ahead of his pursuer.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Chouteau Creek, which empties into the Missouri near the western boundary of Bonhomme County, S. Dak.

<sup>3</sup> Now called Ponca Creek. The M. R. C. map shows its mouth about a mile above the mouth of the Niobrara River. Other modern maps represent it as several miles above, approximately opposite the mouth of Chouteau Creek. This agrees with Clark's measurements which put the mouth of Ponca Creek six miles above the mouth of the Niobrara.

<sup>4</sup> "goats or antelope." Gass. The antelope was first made known to scientists by the Lewis and Clark expedition.



1 Deer & 1 faun. we Camped at a handsome Bottom prairie on N. S. above a fine Grove of C. wood Timber.<sup>1</sup>

Friday 7<sup>th</sup> a fair, cool morning. N. B. a verry large cat fish caught by Goodrich last night. we Set off verry eairly. the wind from N. W. we proceeded on. took breakfast at one of Colters Camps where he had a coppall of jurk & C.<sup>2</sup> passed a Bottom prairie Back of which is a round naked high round knobs the Captains went out to look at it. they returned in a short time & informed us that it was a curious place as if it had been made with hands of man.<sup>3</sup> Shields killed a prairie dog, which was cooked for the Cap<sup>ts</sup> dinner. the Captains went out with Some men of the party to See the Ground where those little dogs make their village & they found more than an acre of Ground covered with their holes, they attempted to drown Several of them out of their holes, but they caught but one which they brought in alive, they are a curious annimal about the Size of a little dog, & of a grayish coulour resembles them nearly except the tail which is like a Ground Squirrel. they will Stand on their hind feet & look & C. we Camped on the South Side near the Steeple of the round knob.

Saturday 8<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. a pleasant morning. we Set off eairly the wind from the S. E. we proceeded on under a gentle breeze passed the mouth of a Small creek on S. S.<sup>4</sup> Some thin Timber close along each Side of the river the hills are near the river on boath Sides. & are verry Broken & C. we passed an Island N. S. halted on S. S. to dine. G. Drewyer joined us who went the evening before, had killed a Buck Elk & a faun Elk & a faun Deer & caught 2 large Beaver, likewise one prairie dog Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went out this morning to walk on N. S. we passed a Trading house piched in on the Same Side ab<sup>o</sup> where the cap<sup>t</sup> went out in a handsome Timbered Bottom, which had been built in 1796.<sup>5</sup> we proceeded on past Several Islands, late in the afternoon we Saw Several Buffelow Swimming the river,

<sup>1</sup> In Charles Mix County, S. Dak., near the 962 mile point of the river.

<sup>2</sup> "On the south side we found a scaffold of meat neatly dried. This had been left by one of our men." Gass.

<sup>3</sup> This is a conspicuous landmark, now known as The Tower, in Boyd County, Nebr., near the 968 mile point of the Missouri. Four miles farther on, at the forty-third parallel of latitude, the river ceases to form the boundary between Nebraska and South Dakota, and enters the latter state.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Randall Creek, in Gregory County, S. Dak. At its mouth is the site of Fort Randall.

<sup>5</sup> "the house of Troodo." Clark. Concerning him see *ante*, 18

Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis went out with Some of the party on S. S. in a grove of Timber & killed 2 Buffelow Shot at one of them several times in the river he being wounded Swam a Shore again & they Shot him down at the edge of the water. we proceeded on about 1 mile & camped on the lower point of a handsome Timbered Island.<sup>1</sup> on which we saw large gangs of Buffelow. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark joined us after dark. had killed 1 faun Deer 3 turkies & a Squirril. he informed us that he Travelled over a rugged and mountainous Country without water & rising 5 or 600 feet, where these hills had been lately burned over by the natives.

Sunday 9<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. we Set out at Sun rise & proceeded on passed the Island. Several gangues of Buffalow on the Sides of the hills on the South Side: we halted [and] took breakfast on the South Side opposite to the upper end of the Island. we heared the prarie woolves bark on the hills Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went on Shore in order to kill or see some of them & C. we passed several creeks & 2 Islands before dinner we passed a high Bluff on S. S. & a small creek<sup>2</sup> at which place we took dinner. G. Drewyer killed 1 Buck & 2 fauns. R. Fields came to the Boat had killed one Buffalow. passed red ceeder on the in Several places along the Bluffs & Several creeks Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark joined us at dark had killed a Buffalow near where we camped on a sand beach S. S. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Informed us that the plains were almost covered with Buffalow the most of this days walk. I saw Sev-  
eral on the bank.

Monday 10<sup>th</sup> a foggy morning. we set off eairly. proceeded on passed a run & a Bluff on N. S. which is of a hard blew clay & verry rough on the top (a small crk on L. Side) we Sailed on verry well halted at 12 oClock [and] took dinner. Newman went out on the hills & killed a Deer South Side we Saw the rack of Bones of a verry large fish the Back bone 45 feet long.<sup>3</sup> passed a high Black Bluff S. S. See 8 Elk Swimming the River. See a nomber of Buffalow. passed Several Islands & Several Creeks & Sand bars little Timber in the course of the day, and camped on an Island S. S. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor who walked on Shore to day joined us informed us that he Saw a large Salt Spring S. S. 1½ miles from the river, & killed one Buffalow, Corp<sup>t</sup> Warving-

<sup>1</sup> "Called Boat Island." Clark. It is now called Chicot or Big Cedar Island; located at the 985 mile point of the Missouri.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Scalp Creek, in Gregory County, according to Coues.

<sup>3</sup> This is undoubtedly the largest fish story developed by the expedition. The "fish" was probably a fossil reptile of the cretaceous period.

ton<sup>1</sup> of the pearogue walked the afternoon on on S. S. joined us also killed 2 Buffalow

Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. we Set off eairly Sailed on to the head of the Is<sup>d</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark myself and 2 more walked on Shore S. S. I killed a verry large porkapine put it on board the pearogue. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed a Buck Elk a deer & a deer faun G. Gibson killed [a] Buck Elk a deer & faun also. Saved the Skins & the best of the meat & C. the Boat Sailed on passed Several Islands & Small runs, at each side. I walked a long the s Shore see a high red hill. I climed up to the top which is verry s[t]eeep on 2 Sides & about 150 feet high. I Saw 16 Bull Buffalow in the vally to the W. Side, rained hard. I amed to keep my rifle dry. I went around the gang of Buffaloe. crept near them as they were feeding, with their heads towards me as I was a waiting them to get one side ways. one of them discovered me I kept Still had on a red Shirt he looked at me, & walked up near to me. I was obledged to Shoot at his head as I Shot him in the head among the long hair he turned & run off. the gang ran a Short distance & went to feeding, rained So hard my gun got wet loading, & I returned over mountains & rough hills & Gullies & C. & C. George Shannon who had been absent with the horses 16 days joined the Boat about one oclock. he informed us that the reason of his keeping on so long was that he see some tracks which must have been Indians. he to[ok] it to [be] us and kept on, his bullets he Shot all away & he was with out any thing to eat for about 12 days except a fiew Grapes, he had left one of the horses behind, as he Gave out, only one horse with him he had gave up the idea of finding our boat & was returning down the river in hopes to meet some other Boat, he was near killing the horse to Satisfy hunger, & C. & C. he Shot a rabbit with Sticks which he cut & put in his gun after his Balls were gone.<sup>2</sup> he had been 2 days walk abov this & C. See a village of little Dogs in the four part of the day We passed Some Timber

<sup>1</sup> Richard Warfington, a corporal in the U. S. army. He was not a permanent member of the expedition, his enlistment having expired Aug. 4, 1804. However, he consented to go on to the Mandan towns and take charge of the boat which Lewis planned to send back from there in the spring of 1805. For Lewis' own account of his services see Thwaites, VII, 355.

<sup>2</sup> Shannon, a mere boy, had a propensity for getting lost. On this, his severest experience of the sort, he had been absent from the party since August 26. "thus a man," comments Clark upon his story, "had like to have Starved to death in a land of Plenty for the want of Bullitts or Something to kill his meat."

on the Islands and points. none at all back on the mountains. rained hard till late in the evening we Camped on S. S. near a line of dark Bluffs.

Wednesday 12<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. the wind shifted Since last night in to the North. Set off as usual proceeded on Slowly. the current Swift & wind a head. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark walked on Shore S. S. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass & Newman with him. we had Some difficulty owing to the river being Shallow. the Boat wheeled Several times and creened on hir Side So that we were obliged to Spring out and hold hir from oversetting. we hunted for the channel & were forced to turn back some distance & take another channel. We Camped on S. S. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis went out [and] found another village of little Dogs in a Bottom prairie above the Island we called Troublesome Is<sup>d</sup><sup>1</sup>

Thursday 13<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. we Set off eairly proceeded on passed high hills on N. S. & a Bottom prairie. Some part covered with Timber [and] Grape vines covered with ripe grapes. pas<sup>d</sup> a black Bluff on S. S. & Broken hills & a run of allum & copperass water. Some Musquetoes, rainy. G. Drewyer caught 4 Beaver in his Traps last night. myself Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor & Shannon walked on Shore S. S. in order to get some plumbs in a bottom prairie. we found pleanty but they were not quite ripe. Shannon killed a porcupine. we could not git to the Boat for a willow Island which was between & Sand bars & C. N. B. the Boat pass<sup>d</sup> Several Is<sup>ds</sup> & camped on N. S. we Camped in a grove of cottonwood Timber. Eat one porcupine for Supper. the Musquetoes Troubled us verry much. pass<sup>d</sup> a range of black Bluffs on S. S. & c.

Friday 14<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. we Set off eairly. a foggy morning. Cloudy. George Drewyer caught 3 Beaver last night. I Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor & Shannon returned to the Boat at 8 o. C. where they were at breakfast, near a grove of Timber N. S. the water Shallow. all hands out in water several times to drag the Boat over the Sand bars & C. pass<sup>d</sup> a black Bluff on S. S. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & C. one man went out hunting on S. S. John Shields who went on Shore with the horse killed a verry large white rabbit or haire it was as big as a Uropean hare. nearly all white & of a different discription of any one ever yet seen in the States. passed a creek on S. S. & a grove of Timber Some rain we

<sup>1</sup> Only Ordway records the name given to the island. Coues locates the camp for this day at Rosebud Landing, Gregory County.

Camped on the South Side in a stripe of woods.<sup>1</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark joined us had killed a curious annamil resembling a Goat<sup>2</sup> Willard brought it on board. it was 3 feet high resembles a Deer in some parts the legs like a Deer. feet like a Goat. horns like a Goat only forked Turn back picked hair thick & of a white a dark redish coullour. Such an anamil was never yet known in U. S. States. the Cap<sup>t</sup> had the Skins of the hair & Goat Stuffed in order to Send back to the city of Washington. the bones and all.

Saturday 15<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. hard rain the greater part of last night. we Set off[e] early this morning. passed a creek on s. s. where George Shannon Camped Six days in a Timbered bottom we call this creek Shannons Creek<sup>3</sup> which Shoots in to the Missouri verry rapid. proceeded on passed a black Bluff on the N. S. passed the mouth of White River<sup>4</sup> on the South Side. Several Sand bars opposite the mouth So that we could not land at its mouth the Cap<sup>ts</sup> went out in the pearogue for to look of the White River & C. the Boat went on above the Sand bars. where Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark came to us had killed an Elk. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis came on board little above a black Bluff. we proceeded on Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went on an Island s. s. covered with Timber red ceeder & cottonwood and covered all over with fine Grapes. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed a Rabbit named the Is<sup>d</sup> Rabit Island. we proceeded on till night with a head wind. Camped on the North Side at a Bluff.<sup>5</sup>

Sunday 16<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. we Set out verry eairly this morning. Cool & clear, proceeded on in order to find a good place to camp & dry & arange all affairs on board & refresh the party & C. passed a large Creek on S. S. called [blank space in Ms.]<sup>6</sup> we

<sup>1</sup> Immediately below the mouth of Ball Creek, in Lyman County.

<sup>2</sup> A male antelope.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Ball Creek, which joins the Missouri in Lyman County, about two miles below White River. Clark notes (September 14) that this was "the place that Shannon the man who went a head lived on grapes."

<sup>4</sup> Still so called. It flows in a due easterly direction to the Missouri, draining much of western South Dakota.

<sup>5</sup> In Brule County, opposite the mouth of American Crow Creek and the town of Oacoma at its mouth.

<sup>6</sup> The captains named it Corvus Creek, "in consequence of having kiled a beatiful bird of that genus near it." Lewis. Coues affirms that this is "the solitary instance of our authors venturing a technical Latin name in zoology." Ordway discreetly concluded, evidently, not to make such a venture at all. With like discretion his white successors turned Lewis' Corvus into plain Crow, to which in some way the adjective "American" has been prefaced.

Camped on S. S. in a handsome bottom of thin Timbered land,<sup>1</sup> lately burned over by the natives, it had grown up again with Green Grass which looked beautiful. we Saw several Deer in this Grove. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed one Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis one G. Drewyer one. Collins who had been with the Horse joined us had killed two Deer, one yesterday 1 this morning. We found a large plumb orchard back of this Bottom of fine large ripe plumbs. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis went on an Island<sup>2</sup> little above the camp to hunt. Battest Decamps killed one Buffalow, Roie<sup>3</sup> killed a faun Deer. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis killed a buffalow. Saved the Skins to cover the loading in the pearogue. Greater part of the loading taken out of the Boat and aired to day—the large red pearogue loaded out of the Batteaux & are to continue on with us to the Mandan Nation of Indians.<sup>4</sup>

Monday 17<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & Several of the party went out hunting. Drewyer caught 1 Beaver to day a pleasant day. the Boat loaded. we remained here all day. towards evening Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & party returned they had killed 13 common Deer. Some of them were handsome fauns—2 Black tailed Deer which differ from the other Deer very large ears Scarce any hair on their tail only the bunch of black hair on the end of a grayish colour they are plenty in this Country but not discribed in any other parts. they killed another kind of Deer with small horns & long tail. Gibson killed 1 its tail is 18 Inches long. & differ also from any yet seen by the party. they killed 3 Buffalow. one Goat which differs also plenty & one curious Bird of a blackish & greenish coullour Black Bill & a verry long tail—

<sup>1</sup> The camp was 1½ miles above the mouth of American Crow Creek. Three and one-half miles above, on the opposite side of the river, is the city of Chamberlain.

<sup>2</sup> Now known as American or Cedar Island, opposite the city of Chamberlain.

<sup>3</sup> Baptiste Dechamps and Peter Roi were two of the French watermen who accompanied the expedition as far as Fort Mandan.

<sup>4</sup> Originally the plan had been to send one of the pirogues back to St. Louis in the autumn of 1804, with news of the progress of the expedition, and the natural-history specimens that had been collected. The difficulty encountered in ascending the Missouri, particularly in getting over the shallow places, with the heavy keel boat had caused the captains to decide upon altering the original plan with respect to the pirogue. They now determined to have it continue with the expedition until winter quarters were reached, and return therefrom in the spring of 1805, in order that by shifting part of the load from the heavier boat to it better progress might be made. This work accounts for the delay of September 16 and 17.

resembling a bird that we call a magpy—the hunters inform us that the Country back of the hills and on the hills are level & Smooth but the Timber very Scarce & C.

Tuesday 18<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> a fair morning. we Set off at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 o.C. proceeded on, passed an Island at our wright Some Timber along the S. S. Elm, ash, Scrubby oak & C. George Drewyer killed a prarie wolf Some larger than a fox. long teeth & of a different discription from any in the States & C. we proceeded on to a Bottom prarie covered with thin cottonwood Timber where J<sup>o</sup> Fields with the horse had killed a Buck Deer—took on board the meat killed yesterday. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & G. Drewyer walked on Shore on S. S. we passed Bluffs on the N. S. Some ceeder along those Bluffs. passed a Bottom covered with Timber on S. S. no Timber seen by the hunters back from the river. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & G. Drewyer returned towards evening. had killed 10 Deer & one prarie wolf We Camped on the South Side in a Small grove of Timbers,<sup>1</sup> 2 hours earlier than usual the wind being a head, in order to jurk our meat & C. the Bones of the wolf was taken apart and Saved, as well as the Skins of them both in order to send back to the States next Spring, with the other curiosities we have or may have & C.

Wednesday 19<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. a pleasant morning. we Set off earily. proceeded on passed a steep clay Bluff on S. S. Some ceeder on the edge of the Bluffs. a fine Timbered Bottom opposite on N. Side. J<sup>o</sup> Fields who was with the horse killed a black tailed Deer & hung it on the Bank. we took it on board. we landed for Breakfast on N. S. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & 3 men went out hunting. we proceeded on passed a Timbered Bottom on S. S. about 11 o.C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Shot a fat Brown Buffalow cow opposite to us on the N. S. a large Gang of them Swam the river near the Boats we Shot a fat cow likewise & a small Bull. took the meat & hides on bord the pearogues, we proceeded on under a fine Sailing Breeze from E. S. E. passed 3 large Creeks (called the Souix 3 river pass) on N. S. which came in behind an Island<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The camp was about three miles above Chamberlain, on the opposite side of the Missouri.

<sup>2</sup> "Called Prospect Island." Clark. Coues says this was its "present or recent" name, but that it is also called Laurel Island. It is shown on the M. R. C. map at the 1,080 mile point. Opposite it (on the east) are the mouths of Crow and Wolf Creeks, and a mile or two above is the mouth of Campbell Creek. These three streams constitute Ordway's "Souix 3 river pass." Here, according to Clark, "all nations who meet are at peace with each other." White-

(along a Bluff) passed a long Timbered bottom on N. S. pass<sup>d</sup> a large Creek on S. S. & Camped after Sailing 24 miles on S. S. above S<sup>d</sup> Creek<sup>1</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark joined us late in the evening had killed an Elk & a Deer, the men who went with him returned also much fatigued & C. Drewyer killed 2 Black tailed Deer on S. S. near a range of Bluffs & C.

Thursday 20<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> a fair morning. Drewyer & Shields went on with the horse across a bend in order to hunt—we Set off early proceeded on under a gentle Breeze from the E. passed an Is<sup>l</sup> on N. S. pass<sup>d</sup> the m<sup>o</sup> of a creek on S. S. named prickly pair creek<sup>2</sup> pass<sup>d</sup> a bottom (& long bend point) covered with thin Timber. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark walked on Shore across the point—we proceeded on passed a handsome Bottom covered with Timber on S. S. where we halted [and] took dinner. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & R. Fields walked out to hunt We Sailed along Round the Big Bend about 27 miles pass<sup>d</sup> 2 Islands & Several Sand bars & a Saltish Sand run on N. S. & camped on a Sand bar on N. S. the Captains & the men who had been with them returned to the Boat had killed 1 he Goat one She Goat & 1 long tailed Deer. We Saved the Skins of the Goats and the Bones in order to Send back to the States next Spring. The She Goats have verry little horns, but are a handsome animal—about 1 oClock at night the Sand bar where we lay was falling in verry fast the current Swift. we ware obledged to git on board as soon as possable & proceed on about a mile & made over to S. S. where we Camped again the moon Shined pleasant all night. we passed a black Bluff on S. S. where their is Some Salt peter on the Stones & C.

Friday 21<sup>st</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. a clear & pleasant morning we Set off early. proceeded on. passed a beautiful high prarie or plains on N. S. passed on round the point of the Big Bend a handsome place & high prarie graddually ascending from the river on N. S.

house designates the place, with unconscious appropriateness, "the Souix pass over of the three Rivers."

<sup>1</sup> This Clark named Night Creek, from the circumstance noted by Ordway in the following sentence. Coues supposes it to be modern Fish Creek; more probably, however, Camel Creek of the M. R. C. map.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to correspond to modern Fish Creek, shown on the M. R. C. map at the 1,093 mile point. The expedition here enters upon a remarkable loop in the river, known as the Grand Detour. Clark reports the distance across the neck of the bend in its narrowest part as 1½ miles, while the distance around was 30 miles (journal entries, September 20 and 21). These figures agree approximately with the distances shown on the M. R. C. map.



& a ceeder Bluff and ceeder Bottom on S. S. pass<sup>d</sup> Tylors River<sup>1</sup> on S. S. we found 2 Deer at the mouth of this R. that the hunters had killed & hung up for us they had gone on. here we Saw the Sand bars covered with w. head plovers. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Shot some of them for his dinner. we passed Some Timber on s. s. But verry little on the N. S. little below a mock Island<sup>2</sup> at a handsome Bottom prairie we have now passed round the Big Bend which is 30 miles round and only  $1\frac{1}{4}$  m. across in the nearest place.

Saturday 22<sup>nd</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. a foggy morning. we set out at Sun rise. we passed Some Timber on s. s. high handsome plains on N.S. (See large gangs of Buffalow on N.S.) about 3 OClock we passed a handsom Ceeder Island on N.S. (one of the 3 Sisters) where M<sup>r</sup> Louisells built a fort and Tradeing house in the winter 1803.<sup>3</sup> it was all built up [of] Ceeder and picketed in with ceeder about 65 or 70 feet Square with a Senterly Box in 2 angles corners the pickets is  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet high above Ground. the Tradeing house is  $45\frac{1}{2}$  by  $32\frac{1}{2}$  feet. divided into four equal apartments one for Merchandise one for a common hall. one for peltery & C. 2 peltery presses. this Tradeing house is built of ceeder high and covered with hughn [hewed] guttered ceeder, in the winter they cover them over with Buffaloe hides which answer a Good purpose. the chimneys built with Stone Clay & Wood their is Indian camps for a large distance about this place. where the Souix Indians came to Trade with M<sup>r</sup> Louisells opposite to this Island on S. S. G. Drewyer & Shields joined us had killed 2 Deer & one white wolf. Colter went on with the horse. we passed a creek Islands of the 3 Sisters. proceded on pass<sup>d</sup> an Indian camp on S. S. where we found Some of their ceeder dog poles, they answer us for Setting poles we are informed that the Indians tie theirs dogs to these poles and they have to dragg them from one camp to another loaded with their Baggage & C. Captain Clark walked a Short

<sup>1</sup> Modern Medicine Creek, in Lyman County.

<sup>2</sup> The "mock island" is described by Clark as connected with the mainland, but with the appearance of having been in former times an island. The night's camp was made  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles above the mouth of Medicine Creek, in Lyman County.

<sup>3</sup> On Regis Loisel and his "Fort aux Cedres" see Houck, *Missouri*, II, 252. The M. R. C. map shows two islands near the boundary between Lyman and Stanley counties, the first called Cedar or Dorion Island, and the second Dorion Island No. 2. The latter was the site of Loisel's fort, of which Ordway gives the best description, probably, now extant. Two or three miles above the island a stream comes in from the south which is still known as Loisselle Creek.

time on Shore on S. S. & killed a large Doe Deer. we Camped on N. S. at the mouth of a small creek<sup>1</sup> where he joined us.

Sunday 23<sup>rd</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. a fair pleasant morning. we Set off eairly proceeded on. passed a large Bottom on N. S. covered with Timber and Grapes & C. R. Fields out to hunt. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark returned had Spied a large fire in the praries a fiew miles back on S. Side. we Saw large gangs of Buffalow on the hills N. S. the wind favourable from S. E. we passed a Creek on N. S. called Smoke Creek.<sup>2</sup> we pass<sup>d</sup> Elk Island at the lower end of the long reach. pass<sup>d</sup> a Timbered bottom on N. S. & barron hills on S. S. & C. towards evening Saw 4 Indians on the Sand beach s. s. we Camped on the N. S.<sup>3</sup> & 3 of them Swam over to our camp. they belonged to the Souix Nation. they Informed us that their Camp was near where their was a Grand chief and a number of their nation, the Cap<sup>tn</sup> Gave them Some Tobacco & We Set them across. they returned to their Camp R. Fields joined us. had killed a female Goat.

Monday 24<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. a Clear and pleasant morning. we Set off eairly. proceeded on passed a handsome prarie on N. S. where we found large plumb orcheds covered with ripe plumbs. pass<sup>d</sup> the m<sup>o</sup> of a high water creek on S. S.<sup>4</sup> proceeded on under a gentle breeze from S. E. about 7 oClock we Saw Colter who had been with the horse on an Island S. S. he called for the pearogue to take in the Game he had killed which was 2 Elk & a Deer. while they were a Dressing and gitting the meat on board the Indians Stole the horse & Some Salt out of his bag & C. we saw 5 Indians on Shore. Colter came running along the Shore [and] Informed us that the Indians had Stole the horse bridle & C. took Colter on bord. Sailed up opposite to the 5 Indians, halted, ankered out 100 y<sup>ds</sup> from Shore. One of our frenchman Spoke to them in Nemaha language and asked them who their chief is. they could not under-

<sup>1</sup> Clark places camp and creek on the south side; this, together with the other facts noted by him points to Loiselle Creek, of the M. R. C. map as the site of the camp for the night. It is about two miles above the boundary between Lyman and Stanley counties.

<sup>2</sup> Named from the "great Smoke" which the explorers saw as an accompaniment of the prairie fire. Now called Chappelle Creek, in Hughes County.

<sup>3</sup> Clark says on the south side. Probably the camp was not far from the mouth of Medicine Creek, which flows across Hughes County and joins the Missouri near the 1,157 mile point.

<sup>4</sup> Now called Antelope Creek, in Stanley County. On the opposite side of the river Hackberry Creek comes in. At its mouth, Coues states, is the site of old Fort Sully, "for some time a formidable menace to the turbulent Tetons."

stand but little they had informed us that the Grand chiefs name is the Black Buffalow. the Captains told them that they or Some of the young men had Stole our horse and if they would bring the horse We would Speak to them, and if they did not we would not Speak to them. they Said they knew nothing of the horse but if their young men had Stole him they must find him & return him again. the Capt<sup>s</sup> told them it was well & we would Speak to their chiefs Tomorrow. we then proceeded on to the mouth of Teton River<sup>1</sup> where we Encamped on s.s. we ankered out 100 yd<sup>s</sup> from shore. all remained on bord except the Guard Cooks & frenchman who remained on Shore with our pearogue the 5 Indians Stayed with the Guard all night verry peaceable. we had an old frenchman with us who could speak a little of the Souix language he found that one of them was a chief. the Cap<sup>ts</sup> Gave them Some Tobacco Shook hands and Smoked with them & C. This chiefs name is Buff the Medicine [Buffalo medicine] he told us that all their lodge would come tomorrow. they Eat and Slept with us friendly. a flag pole hoisted.

<sup>1</sup> So named by Lewis and Clark because here they encountered the Teton Sioux, encamped two miles above its mouth. The Sioux name for the stream signified Bad River, and this is its modern name. In view of the explorers' reception by the Teton, they might well have retained the native name. It is an eastward-flowing stream which joins the Missouri opposite Pierre, the capital of the state. At the mouth of Bad River, Fort Pierre Chouteau, shortened in common usage to Fort Pierre, was built in 1831.

## CHAPTER V

### FROM TETON RIVER TO FORT MANDAN, SEPTEMBER 25- NOVEMBER 1, 1804

Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. a clear and pleasant morning. all things made ready to receive the Band of the Souix nation of Indians, Called the Tribe of Tetons. about 10 o.C. A. M. they Came flocking in from boath Sides of the River. when 30 odd was selected under the american Collours Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went out to Speak and treat with them. Gave the 3 Chiefs 3 new meddals & 1 american flag Some knives & other Small articles of Goods & Gave the head chief the Black Buffalow<sup>1</sup> a red coat & a cocked hat & feather & C. likewise Some Tobacco. We had no good interpreter but the old frenchman could make them understand tollarable well. but they did not appear to talk much untill they had got the goods, and then they wanted more, and Said we must Stop with them or leave one of the pearogues with them as that was what they expected. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Shewed them the air Gun. Shot it several times. then the Captains brought [on board] the 3 chiefs and one warrier they had with them. Gave the warrier a Sertifficate. then Shewed the chiefs Some curiosities. Gave them a draghm. they brought a quantity of fat Buffaloe meat and offered us the Captains accepted of Some of it. & Gave them pork in return. then the Captains told them that we had a great ways to goe & that we did not wish to be detained any longer. they then began to act as if they were Intoxicated with Some difficulty Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark got them to Shore. they then began to Show Some Signs of Stopping or attempting to Stop us. one of them Stayed on board the pearogue when Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & the chiefs went out of it. the head chief the Black Buffaloe, Seized hold of the cable of the pearogue and Set down. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Spoke to all

<sup>1</sup> Aside from the present unpleasant encounter with this chief, Clark met him again two years later (Aug. 30, 1806), on which occasion the white leader indulged in the pleasure of freeing his mind concerning his opinion of the red one's misconduct. For the funeral oration delivered over Black Buffalo's grave see *Early Western Travels*, V, 222-23.

the party to Stand to their arms Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis who was on board ordered every man to his arms. the large Swivel [was] loaded immediately with 16 Musquet Ball in it the 2 other Swivels loaded well with Buck Shot [and] each of them manned. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark used moderation with them told them that we must and would go on and would go. that we were not Squaws. but warriors. the chief Sayed he had warriors too and if we were to go on they would follow us and kill and take the whole of us by degrees or that he had another party or lodge above this [and] that they were able to destroy us. then Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark told them that we were Sent by their great father the president of the U. S. and that if they misused us that he or Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis could by writing to him have them all destroyed as it were in a moment.<sup>1</sup> they then requested that their women and children See the Boat as they never Saw Such an one, the Cap<sup>t</sup> told them that we could not go far as the day was far Spent, but we would let them see that they Should not Stop us and that we Should go a Short distance and can Camp for the night. the chief then let go the Cable, and Sayed that he was Sorry to have us Go for his women and children were naked and poor and wished to G<sup>t</sup> Some Goods, but he did not think we were Marchants, nor that we were loaded with Goods, but he was Sorry to have us leave them So Soon—they wished to come on board Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark took the chief and warriors on bord to Stay all night with them. we then Set off and proceeded on about 1 mile and Camped ankered out. the Guard and cooks on Shore & C. the Indians Camped on s. s. our Camp was on a willow Is<sup>l</sup> in the middle of the river, at our Starbord Side.

Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. a clear and pleasant morning. we Set off eairly. proceeded on 4 or 5 miles the Indians Strung along the shore the most of the way. We then halted<sup>2</sup> ankered out 100

<sup>1</sup> Clark's account of this dispute is equally vivid. In response to the Indian insults he drew his sword, while his followers sprang to assist him. With equal readiness the warriors strung their bows, and drew their arrows from the quivers. "The situation was critical indeed," observes Coues, "much more so than one unfamiliar with Sioux might gather from either of the printed texts [of Biddle and Gass]. Sioux string bows as cowboys draw their six-shooters—that is for instant use. Clark had red hair and had been insulted; both officers were dauntless, and their men were well disciplined. Several lives, possibly the further progress of the expedition, hung as it were upon the first twang of a bowstring."

<sup>2</sup> In order "to let their Squars & boys see the Boat and Suffer them to treat us well." Clark. The place where the party spent this night and the following one was 5½ miles, by Clark's calculations, above the mouth of Bad River.

yards from Shore. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis went out with the chiefs to where they had fixed their lodge in the neatest manner near the river. and their whole lodge had assembled. brought with them their horses, women & children. Some of their women are verry handsome & friendly. the number of Indians at this lodge of the Teton tribe is between 2 & 300 they had been lately at war with the Mahars. we [they] have Sixtyfive of the Sculps and 25 prisonrs Squaws of the Mahars nation which they had with them. they told us that they had 23 Squaws prisoners more at a lodge above this. their lodge is verry handsome in a circle and about 100 cabbins in number and all white, made of Buffalow hides dressed white one large one in the center, the lodge for the war dances. they Gave Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Some fine Soup made of what they call white apples. they sent all the party Some fat Buffaloe meat cooked and some dried and pounded fine. the marrow of the Buffalow Bones, mixed together, which Eat verry well. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went out with some of them, and they made Great preparations for a dance this evening. they Sent for Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis to come and see them he went over to the shore they Spread a Buffaloe robe dressed white on the Ground for him to Git on as soon as he landed he Set on it 8 of the Savages carried him to the lodge which is a Great Mark of friendship. they killed Several dogs and cooked them in a decent manner to treat our people with. in the evening the 2 Captains myself and a number more of the party went to their village to see them dance. they had a fire in the center of their lodge. the Band formed a line which were the men. the Squaws formed on each Side of the fire. & danced and Sang as the drumm and other ratles & C. were playing. they danced to the center untill they met, then the rattles Shook and the houp was Given. then the Squaws all fell back to their places. when the mens music Seaced the womens voice Sounded one part of the tune delightful. then the other Music would commence again, our Captains Gave them some Tobacco to Smoke during the dance. one of the warries thought he had not received a Small peace of the last tobacco they had he Got mad and broke one of their drumms, hove 2 in the fire and left the line. Some of the rest took them out, they then took a Buffaloe Robe & held up in their hands and beat on it and continued on their dance till late in night. The chiefs came on [board] & Selept with us in a friendly manner.

Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804. a clear and pleasant morning. the most of the party went to the village in the course of the day 5 or 6 at a time, as the chiefs desired us to Stay this day as they Sayd that another lodge would come to day (600 men) (and 7 chiefs) the chiefs and chiefs Sons came on board several times in the course of the day and [visited] with the officers &C. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass informed me as he was at the village to day that he counted 80 Lodges (of the Teton Tribe) which contain ten persons each, which were built round with poles about 15 or 20 feet high & covered with dressed Buffalo hides painted Some of them red &C. they draw them from one place to another with their dogs. they tackled one to day which carried about 80 weight with ease—about 2 thirds are women and children. the women are employed in dressing Buffaloe Skins for cloathes and lodges &c. they appear to be very friendly. But will Steel & pilfer if they have an oppertunity the vessells they carry their warter in are Deers pouches & other kinds. Some woven Bows which they make. the chiefs promised our Captains that they would Send the prisoners back to their nation again towards evening they made preparations for another dance this evening, at dark the officers and 7 or 8 of the party went over to the dance and See them dance and carry on mostly as the evening before only the men danced and made Speeches after the women had danced a while &C. the dance lasted till about 12 oClock at night, at which time the Captains returned to the boat brought with them 2 Chiefs. the men all returned also. an accident happened as they came on board by the neglect of the men at the helm of the pearogue, who Steared hir above the big boat. She Swung round with the current and She came full force down against the Bow of the Barge [and] Broke the cable of hir. we found we were all on float. roused all hands and got Safe to Shore on S.S. the Indians hearing us, and expected that the Mahars Indians had come to attack us they all ran to our assistance on the bank of the river & fired Several guns for an alarm only.<sup>1</sup> we informed them the cause &C. Some of them remained with us the remainder part of the night. we examined the pearogue that met with the Stroke found that She had Sprung a leak at one place. we corked it and bailed the pearogue. found her not verry much damaged, but if the cable of the Boat had not Gave way the pearogue must have broke in

<sup>1</sup> Lewis and Clark looked upon this alarm as evidence of the intention of the Sioux to prevent their farther progress and, if possible, to rob them.

too or turned over. I being on duty set up the remainder part of the night, and had all the party on their Guards.

Friday 28<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1804. a clear and pleasant morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went with the pearogues eairly. this morning to hunt for anker. Searched Some time with the Boat hook & poles. could not find it. they took a chord and put Sinks to the middle and took each end to the 2 pearogues and dragged the river diligently a long time but could not find it. took breakfast about 10 O.Clock the whole lodge of Indians were waiting on the bank to See us Start. as we intended if the excident had not of happened last night we gave up the Idea of finding our anker. We then were about to Set off. Some of the chiefs were on bord insisting on our Staying untill the others came. We told them we could not wait any longer. they then did not incline to let us go on they Sayed we might return back with what we had or remain with them, but we could not go up the Missouri any further, about 200 Indians were then on the bank. Some had fire arms. Some had Spears. Some had a kind of cutlashes, and all the rest had Bows and steel or Iron pointed arrows. Several of the warries Set by the chord where our boat the big Barge was tied the 2 pearogues were tied on the outside of the Barge. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark was Speaking to the chiefs in the cabbin. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis asked the chiefs if they were going out of the boat. they did not incline to. then Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis came out [and] ordered every man to his place ordered the Sail hoisted, then one man went out [and] untied the chord, which the warrier had in his hand, then 2 or 3 more of their warries caught hold of the chord and tyed it faster than before. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis then appeared to be angarry, and told [them] to Go out of the Boat and the chief then went out and Sayd we are sorry to have you go. But if you will Give us one carret of tobacco we will be willing for you to go on & will not try to stop you. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Gave it to them. the head chief Sayd then that we must Give him one more carrit of tobacco more for his warries who held the chord and then we might go, boath of our Captains told him that we did not mean to be trifled with. nor would not humer them any more, but would Give him 1 carrit more for the warriers, if he would be a man of his word and Stand to his word like a man. the chief Sayd he was mad too, to See us Stand So much for 1 carrit of tobacco if we would Give it we might go on. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Gave it to him. he then took the chord in his hand & Gave it to us. we then Set off under a gentle Breeze which happened



to be favourable. we proceeded on pass<sup>d</sup> bottom prairie on s. s. high land on N. S. went 4 miles and halted. we fixed 2 large Stone to our boats to answer as ankers, as we did not intend to Camp on Shore again untill we Got to an other Nation. We saw one of the fourmentioned chiefs comming up the river s. s. we took him on board. he informed us that their was 300 Indians around which was the other lodge. they wished to have us Stop. this old chief Sayd he was our friend and wished to go with us for a while. the Cap<sup>ts</sup> allowed him to Stay on board. we then proceeded on. at Sunset we cast anker near a small Sand bar in the middle of the river, where we Stayed all night.<sup>1</sup> heard Some Indians on boath Sides of the river. corn cooked on the little Sand bar for the next day all but the cooks Slept on board.

Saturday 29<sup>th</sup> 1804. we Set off eairly. the weather fair. proceeded on passed a handsome Bottom covered with Timber on N. S. bluffs on S. S. We Saw Several Indians on S. S. walking up the Shore we Spoke to them, found they were Some of those we left yesterday 1 or 2 of them chiefs. they Sayd that they would be Glad if we would give one carrit of tobacco for the chiefs of the other band to Smoak. we sent them 2 carrits to a Sand bar but told them we Should not land any more untill we got to the Rick Rea Nation of Indians. the Missouri is verry Shallow. a great number of Sand bars. We passed an old village on S. S. where the Rick Rias lived 5 years ago & Raised corn on the Bottom Round the village.<sup>2</sup> we Saw a verry large flock of Elk on the Bottom S. Side. Some Indians Shot at them. we crossed 2 Indians in the pearogue to NS of the River. Came 15 miles today and Camped at a large Sand beach S. S.<sup>3</sup> the Guard only on Shore.

Sunday 30<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1804. we Set off eairly under a fine Breeze of wind from the E. passed a willow Island N. S. pass<sup>d</sup> a large Bottom covered with Timber on N. S. Barron hills on S. S. See an Indian on S. S. Spoke to him. found it was one of those we Saw at village below. he told us that the other band was comming on, and wished us to Stop. we told him we could not Stop neither did we wish to see them. passed a handsom Bottom prairie on N. S. a bottom covered with Timber on S. S. proceeded on 10 miles at 10 oClock we discovered a large number of Indians

<sup>1</sup> Eleven and one-half miles above Bad River.

<sup>2</sup> The Arikara tribe of Indians. The village was at the mouth of a stream which the explorers named No Timber Creek. Coues identifies it as modern Chantier Creek, Stanley County.

<sup>3</sup> In Stanley County, 3½ miles above the mouth of Chantier Creek.

on a hill S. Side comming down towards the river a head of [us] we halted on a Sand bar, took breakfast. the Indians assembled on S. Shore [and] hoisted a white flag. we then took down our red flag. directly after they hoisted another. We then took them to be our friends. the weather being cool, cloudy a mist of rain our officers Gave Each man of the party a draghm. we then hoisted our Sails & Sailed up to where the Indians was assembled about 200 of them on the Bank of the River S. S. had put up one or 2 lodges which was white. we ankered out opposite to them about 100 yards. Spoke to them to know what they wanted. they Sayed they wanted us to come on Shore and eat with them & Smoak, for they were our friends & C. our Cap<sup>ts</sup> told them our reason was that we had been ill treated by the band below, and that we would not Stop but we were friends to them & would Send them Some tobacco for a token that he had taken them by the hand. And then we Should go on to the RickRees where we Should halt again. we then Sent them Some tobacco & C. hoisted Sail proceeded on passed a creek on S. S. pass<sup>d</sup> a bottom covered with Timber on N. S. pass<sup>d</sup> an Island & large Sand bars on S. Side. the old Teton chief remained with us in order to go to the R. Rees nation. We passed a large quantity of Grass in the Bottom of Small Timber on N. Side. proceeded on till about 4 oClock put to Shore in order to take Some fire wood on board. when we put off the Stern of our Barge got fast. She Swang round in the Stream the wind being So hard from E. that [it] caused the waves to run high the Boat got in the trough & She Rocked verry much before we could git hir Strait we hoisted Sail and came Strait. Sailed verry fast. the Indian chief we had on board was verry fraid. he Said he thought our Boat was a medicine & he would go no further with us. we then put him to Shore our Captains Gave him a Blanket. Some tobacco a knife and Some other Small articles. he then Set off[f] to return to his Band. We Sailed on verry fast. came 24 miles this day. Camped on a Sand bar on N. S.<sup>1</sup>

Monday 1<sup>st</sup> October 1804. we Set off[f] as usual under a hard Breeze from E. Sailed on verry well past an Island. passed an old village of the Rick Rees nation on S. S. passed the Mouth of a large River on the South Side called ashea or dog River,<sup>2</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> In Sully County, five miles below the mouth of Cheyenne River.

<sup>2</sup> "Chien or Dog river." Clark. It is the modern Cheyenne, which drains the Black Hills and flows in an easterly direction to its junction with the Mis-

is about [blank in Ms.] yards wide a Great number of Sand bars at & near the Mouth (we had some difficulty to pass) Some Scattering Timber on the Bottoms about the mouth of this River. passed a bottom on N. S. Some thin timber near the River on s<sup>d</sup> Bottoms. Barren hills back from the River on both Sides, & little or no Timber back from the River except on creeks & Streams, this Side of the River Platte The wind blew so hard that it was difficult to find the channel. we halted about 9 oClock [and] took breakfast dilayed about 2 hours then dragged our Boat over a verry Shallow channel. hoisted Sail [and] proceeded on to a bend in the river at 2 oC. where the wind came a head. took dinner. then proceeded on passed a Bottom covered with Small Timber on N. S. a cool day. came 14 miles & Camped on a large Sand beach N. S.<sup>1</sup> we saw a man on the South Shore he called to us in french. Some of our frenchman answered him & knew him, found he wished to See us. we desired him to come he came in a pearogue over to us. it was a young french man who lived with M<sup>r</sup> Valley a trader from little boat.

Tuesday 2<sup>nd</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1804 we Set off as usual. a frenchman came over to us this morning, we found him to be M<sup>r</sup> Valley,<sup>2</sup> the Trador among The Souix nation he could talk English. he informed us that we Should not see many more of the Souix to Trouble us. he came with us a Short distance & returned. we proceeded on passed a large Bottom on s. s. Some Timber on the edge of the river. about 2 oClock we came round a bend where we had come 20 miles round, & it was only 2 miles across by land.<sup>3</sup> we discovered Some Indians on the hills N. S. one of them came down to the River. we asked him what he wanted he Said (there was 20 lodges) or so in the Yanktown Souix language that he wanted us to come to Shore. we told him we had Spoke to his chief & C. & proceeded on. the wind Shifted to N. W. passed an Island<sup>4</sup> on N. S. to a creek on the S. Side.

souri. The explorers made the obvious mistake of confusing the Indian name Cheyenne with *chien*, the French word for dog.

<sup>1</sup> In Sully County, eleven miles above the mouth of Cheyenne River.

<sup>2</sup> Thwaites supposes this man to have been some connection of the Vallé family, prominent in Spanish Louisiana. Clark records that he had spent the previous winter "300 Leagues up the Chien River under the Black mountains"—the Black Hills of western South Dakota.

<sup>3</sup> They had completed the passage of the Little Bend of the Missouri, a loop similar to the Grand Detour, farther below.

<sup>4</sup> "This Island we call Is<sup>d</sup> of Caution." Clark. It is modern Plum Island, shown on the M. R. C. map at the 1,240 mile point.

Camped on a Sand bar in the middle of the River.—no hunting for Indians Troublesome.

Wednesday 3<sup>rd</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1804. the wind raised at 1 oClock last night & blew hard from N. W. & continues to blow this morning. So that it detained us untill  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 oClock. Cloudy. Some Thunder last night. a little rain this morning. we Set out  $\frac{1}{2}$  past [seven] proceeded on 7 miles. the wind So hard a head that we halted about noon at a black Bluff S. S. delayed about 3 hours & proceeded on 3 miles found we had the rong channel. the water Shallow, we Camped at high Bluffs on S. S.<sup>1</sup> we Saw Several Indians opposite on the N. S.

Thursday 4<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1804. we Set off eairly. returned Back 3 miles took the channel & proceeded on. passed Several Indians on N. S. at 9 oClock halted [and] took breakfast on S. S. an Indian Swam the River to See us. he asked for powder & C. proceeded on passed an Island N. S. passed a creek on S. S. called Teed creek.<sup>2</sup> we Camped on a Sand beach at the upper point of an Island on N. S.<sup>3</sup>

Friday 5<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1804. a white frost this morning. Clear & cool. we Set off eairly. passed some wood in a bottom s. s. See Several Indians on the Shore on N. S. at 11. oClock we Saw a flock of Goats Swimming the River towards the South Shore. one of our hunters ran up the Shore & killed 4 of them we took them on board the Boat & pearogues. passed a Creek on N. S. called White Goat Creek.<sup>4</sup> pass<sup>d</sup> black Bluffs on S. S. we halted

<sup>1</sup> In Armstrong County, at the 1,251 mile point of the river.

<sup>2</sup> "Teel creek." Gass. Probably modern Stone Creek, in southern Dewey County. On the M. R. C. map it is shown as "Stone or Cherry Creek."

<sup>3</sup> On this island was an abandoned Arikara village called Lahooeat. It is Dolphees Island on the M. R. C. map.

<sup>4</sup> There is some confusion, as between the various journals, concerning the streams passed during the day, but it seems quite possible to resolve the former and identify the latter. Both Gass and Whitehouse speak of passing a stream on the north side called Hidden Creek, and, later, one on the south called White Goat Creek. Clark notes a stream (unnamed) on the south side at the eighth mile of the day's journey, and another, called White Brant Creek on the south side at the fourteenth mile. The former corresponds in location (though on the wrong side of the Missouri) with Little Cheyenne River, which is otherwise unmentioned by Clark. This stream, therefore, is Hidden Creek of Gass and Whitehouse and White Goat Creek of Ordway. Clark's White Brant Creek six miles farther on, unnoted by Ordway, is the White Goat Creek of Gass and Whitehouse. It is shown on the M. R. C. map with the name Clark gave it; on a number of other modern maps before me, including the General Land Office map of 1901, it appears as Swiftbird Creek.

It seems pertinent in this connection to call attention, by way of illustration,

[and] took dinner at a Timbered bottom S. S. below an Island. dressed & took care of our Goat meat as we had no other fresh meat on hand. found it to be very Sweet Good meat. proceeded on passing the Island we killed a Small prairie wolf Swimming the River. passed high Black Bluff on N. S. & a large Bottom covered with Timber Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & 2 of the hunters went out hunting. we passed the Bottom & Camped on N. S.<sup>1</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & the rest of the hunters returned had killed & brought in a Deer. had killed or wounded 2 more but did not get them.

Saturday 6<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1804. we Set off early proceeded on passed Black Bluffs on s. s. high land, hilley & plains on both Sides of the River no Timber only in the Bottoms on the River. pass<sup>d</sup> a Timbered Bottom on S. S. 2 men went out hunting—at 1 oClock we halted at an old Rickree Village on S. S. [and] took dinner. X our hunters came to us had killed a fat Elk. we found at this Village Some Squashes. the RickRee left it last Spring. their village was built very close compact & covered each Sepperate house with Earth. we Saw Several canoes made of Buffalow hides which would carry 2 men & considerable baggage, also Some baskets we took Several of them & Some of the Squashes & C. & C. we proceeded on Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & one hunter went out hunting on a handsome Bottom covered with Timber on N. S. passed a creek on the South Side<sup>2</sup> we Camped on a large Sand

to a practice to which Coues was addicted, not always with happy results. I refer to his zeal for reconciling seeming discrepancies in the several journals of the expedition, or (at times) between the different journals. Thus in the present instance, supposing Clark's White Brant Creek to be the White Goat Creek of Gass, he assumes the latter to have made "a slip for White Goose." The recovery, since Coues's time, of the journals of Whitehouse and Ordway makes it clear that Gass wrote what he intended to write, and that White Goat and White Brant are two different streams. Coues's assumption was rendered easier by the fact that while Clark speaks of killing the goats he does not say they were white (only Ordway records this detail); on the other hand he speaks twice of the white brants, of which no one of the other three journals left us makes mention.

<sup>1</sup> This agrees with Gass; but Whitehouse says on the south side, and Clark "on a mud bar making from the S. S.," although the statement in his table of distances, "to a pt. on the L. Side opposit a Willow Island Situated near the S. Shore," seems to contradict this.

<sup>2</sup> "Beaver or Otter Creek." Clark. All the journals agree in locating this stream on the south side of the Missouri; yet the maps of both Lewis and Clark represent it on the north, and this corresponds with the representation of mod-

beach on N. S. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & the hunter joined us. brought no Game with them. the 2 Cap<sup>t</sup> & 2 more knock<sup>d</sup> for bow pack<sup>1</sup>

Sunday 7<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1804. a clear & pleasant morning. We Set off at day light. proceeded on passed a creek on N. S. called [blank in Ms.]<sup>2</sup> halted [and] took breakfast at a River named [blank in Ms.]<sup>3</sup> where their was an old Rickree village built in the Same Manner as that we pass<sup>d</sup> yesterday on S. S. pass<sup>d</sup> a timbered Bottom on s. s. ab<sup>o</sup> m<sup>o</sup> of this River a Small Shower of rain the wind more from the S. Sailed on Saw 2 of the Souix Indians on N. S. Spoke to them they s<sup>d</sup> they wanted Something to eat & that their band was a going up to the Rickrees, we Gave them Some Venison & proceeded on to an Island<sup>4</sup> about 4 oC. went out with Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & 2 men hunters on s<sup>d</sup> Island to hunt. we killed a Black tailed Deer which was very large especially the Ears. & a handsome Brarow which [the] Cap<sup>t</sup> had the Bones & skin Saved in order to Send back to the States. we Camped on N. S.<sup>5</sup> ab<sup>o</sup> the head of S<sup>d</sup> Is<sup>1</sup> where I came on board.

Monday 8<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1804. a pleasant morning. We Set off eairly. proceeded on pass<sup>d</sup> high land on S. S. pass<sup>d</sup> a run on s. s. named Slate run. Some hunters out on Shore N. S. hunting in a bottom covered with Timber on N. S. pass<sup>d</sup> an Island we halted at 12 oC. took dinner at the Mouth of a River which came in on s. s. a large Timber<sup>d</sup> Bottom at the Mouth of this River we named this River Marappa.<sup>6</sup> the hunters came on board. they

ern maps. Assuming the maps to be correct, rather than the journals, it is modern Swan Creek, in Walworth County.

<sup>1</sup> The last word is not perfectly clear in the manuscript; nor am I able to explain what is meant by the statement.

<sup>2</sup> This stream is unnoticed by Clark; it is noted by Gass, but left unnamed; and both noticed and named Goodrich by Whitehouse. I am unable to find it on any of the modern maps at my disposal.

<sup>3</sup> Variously given in the other journals as Cerwereerna, Sir war, and Sir-warharna or Park. Clark explains that it is an Arikara name. It is modern Owl or Moreau Creek, a considerable stream, draining several counties of western South Dakota.

<sup>4</sup> "Called Grous Island." Clark. Probably Blue Blanket Island of the M. R. C. map.

<sup>5</sup> So Gass and Whitehouse; but Clark says "on S. S." Whichever side the camp may have been it was near the 1,310 mile point of the Missouri.

<sup>6</sup> Now called Grand River, a considerable stream draining the three westernmost of the northern row of South Dakota counties. Ordway has confused the name of the stream with that of the creek two miles above, which he mentions further on. Clark calls Grand River by its Arikara name, Wetar-hoo, and gives the name Maropa (also Rear par or Beaver Dam) to the stream

Saw a large flock of goats, wounded an Elk, but killed nothing. the wind from the North. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis took the Medrian alt<sup>d</sup> & made the La<sup>t</sup> [blank in Ms.] we proceeded on pass<sup>d</sup> a Timbered Bottom land on S. S. Barron hills on N. S. pass<sup>d</sup> way on one mile another creek on s. s. proceeded on passed an Island on s. s. where we found a large RickorRee village on s. s. a number of the Indians assembled on the Sand bar opposite the village to See us. A frenchman with them. we took the frenchman<sup>1</sup> on board he Informed us that they were all friendly & Glad to See us. we Camped about one mile ab<sup>o</sup> the first RickaRee village.<sup>2</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis went to the village. carried Some tobacco & Smoked with the chiefs of thee nation. thier is 2 more villages of the Rickarees a Short Distance ab<sup>o</sup> this place & C.

Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> blustering cold wind this morning. Some Showers of rain. Some chiefs & other Indians came to See us, but it being so cold & windy that they did not assemble to counsel. this day we raised a flag pole & C. Some men went to the village. nothing further particular.

Wednesday 10<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> a pleasant morning. I went down to the village which was built on the Island. found their lodges in this village about 60 in number and verry close compact. in a round form large & warm[ly] covered first after the wood is willows and Grass.<sup>3</sup> Then a thick coat of Earth & C. except the chimney hole which Goes out at center & top. they Raise considerable of Indian corn, beans pumkins Squasshes water millions a kind of Tobacco & C. & C. they Supply several nations around them in corn as we are told. their is a 2 frenchman who trade here, M<sup>r</sup> Tabbo livees here now. has Some Goods & trades with them for their peltry & C. we left one of our frenchman with M<sup>r</sup> Tabbow & took his Soon in his place. all things made ready to hold a counsel with the nation. they

two miles above on the same side of the Missouri. The latter is now called Oak Creek.

<sup>1</sup> Clark records his name, "Mr. Gravellin." He was Joseph Gravelines, a trader residing among the Arikara in company with Antoine Tabeau, to be mentioned shortly. On Gravelines, see also *post*, 163, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> In Campbell County, opposite the mouth of Cathead Creek. On the M. R. C. map the bend in the river at this place is marked Arickaree Point.

<sup>3</sup> The statement is intended to mean that the framework of the lodge first receives a covering of willow branches and then one of grass. Gass gives a more detailed description of the lodges and the method of constructing them.

have used us in the most friendly manner. Gave us corn & beans dried pumpkins & Squashes & C. & C. Some of their women are very handsome & clean & C. & C.

Wednesday October 10<sup>th</sup> 1804.

Journal continued from 90<sup>th</sup> page at R. Ree vill<sup>ge</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> Oct About 2 oClock P. M. the Chiefs & Warriess of the RickaRees Nation assembled at our Camp under the american flag to Counsel with our Officers. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis read a Speech to them Giving them Good counsel & C. after the talk was inded to them three Guns was fired from our Bow peace. then our officers Gave the three Chiefs<sup>1</sup> Some presents & 3 flags & each Chief a meddel. their is 3 villages of this nation & three chiefs one at each village. our officers Gave Each an equal proportion of the Goods. [To] Each [an] american flag, a red coat & cocked hat & feathers & meddels as ab<sup>o</sup> m<sup>n</sup> [and] Some Paint they divided the Goods & paint among themselves & tobacco & C. & C. after all was over our Cap<sup>ts</sup> Shot the air Gun they appeared to be astonished at the Site of it & the execution it would doe.<sup>2</sup> they were very thankful to us for what they had Rec<sup>d</sup> from us, & S<sup>d</sup> that all were So Good that we must go where we pleased after they would have a talk tomorrow & Give us Some Corn & C. the chiefs Shook hands with our officers in the most friendly manner, & returned to thier villages. I & one man went to the 2<sup>nd</sup> village with them in the evening which is about 4 miles from the lower village. the chief took us into his lodge which was very large & their village is built nearly in the Same form as the lower village. the chiefs wife Brought us a bowl full of Beans & corn. We Eat Some of it. She then brought 3 more one after another of different kinds of victuals. we Eat some of each & found it very Good. we Smoaked a while with them. they were

<sup>1</sup> There were three Arikara villages in the vicinity, the one on the island below the camp, and two others on the river above it. The chiefs of the two latter were late in coming to the council. Lewis and Clark attributed this to a feeling of "gellousy" between the villages, inspired by the fear that the leader of the lower village would be made first chief by the explorers.

<sup>2</sup> Another prodigy displayed to the wondering red men was woolly-headed York. Clark records that they "wer much astonished at my Servent, they never Saw a black man before, all flocked around him & examind him from top to toe, he carried on the joke and made himself more turribal than we wished him to doe." "By way of amusement," adds Biddle, "he told them that he had once been a wild animal, and caught and tamed by his master."



very friendly to us & Seemed to be desirous to talk with us & Scarcely kept their Eyes off us (we returned to camp late)

Thursday 11<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1804. a clear & cool morning. the wind from the N. W. Some of the party down at the village below this last night they informed us that one of the chiefs lost all the good[s] he Rec<sup>d</sup> from us in the River, Going home. the Skin canoe got over Set [and] turned every thing out of it he Grieved himself considerable about his loss & C. at 11 oClock the Indians assembled at our camp Brought us Some corn & Beans dried Squasshes & C. we Gave them a Steel Mill which they were very much pleased with. the chiefs made a Short Speech & told us that he was very Glad to See us & that we must pass where we pleased & none of his nation would attempt to hold our cable & C. he also desired that we Would Speak a good word for them to the Mandan nation for they wished to make pease with them about 1 oClock we Set off. proceeded on passed a creek on s. s. & a Timbred Bottom. Sailed on at 4 oC. arrived at the 2<sup>nd</sup> R. Ree village on the Bank of the River S. Side<sup>1</sup> a handsome place a high Smoth prairie. a Timbred Bottom of [on] the opposite Shore a large Sand beach makes out from the vil<sup>e</sup> they had their coulours or flags hoisted that we Gave them, & all ass<sup>d</sup> on a Sand bar below the vill<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & Clark took an observation which made them amazed at the instrument went up to the vil<sup>e</sup> took Several of the party with them. they all returned in the evening.<sup>2</sup> found that the two upper villages were near each other & built nearly alike. their is no wood near these 2 villages. they cross the River for the Greater part of their wood to a Timbred Bottom on N. S. opisite their villages & C. in the evening our cooks took the Best axe we had on Shore for to cut Some wood & it was Stole by Some of those Indians.

Friday 12<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1804. a Clear & pleasant morning. the Indians assembled on the bank near us for to Trade with us. they wanted red paint mostly, but would Give whatever they had to Spare for any kind of Goods one of the men Gave an Indian a pin hook & the Indian Gave him in return a pair of Moggisins we

<sup>1</sup> In Corson County, three miles above Arickaree Point, the camping place from October 8 to October 11.

<sup>2</sup> "after being treated by every civility by those people who are both pore & Durtey." Clark. Gass, on the contrary, calls them "the best looking Indians I have ever seen," and again, "the most cleanly Indians I have ever seen on the voyage."

Gave them Some Small articles of Goods for Buffalow Robes & Mogg<sup>a</sup> [moccasins] & C. the officers went to the villages in order to hear what the chiefs had to Say. They Gave us 10 or 12 bushels of corn & beans & C. & C. the officers came on board about 12 oClock took a good Indian with us who had been to the head of the Missouri River.<sup>1</sup> about 1 oClock we Set off the fiddle playing & the horns Sounding & C. little ab<sup>o</sup> the Towns we saw a great number of Squaws employed in toteing wood across the River in their Buffalow hide cannos proceeded on. pass<sup>d</sup> a timbred bottom on s. s. also one on the N. S. where we Camped at the upper end of the Bottom on N. S.<sup>2</sup> Newman & Reed confined. 3 Indians came to camp.

Saturday 13<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> Cloudy. proceeded on passed Pond River<sup>3</sup> on N. S. about 50 y<sup>ds</sup> wide at the Mouth. about 12 oClock it rained Some. we halted [and] a court Martial was held which detained us 2 hours.<sup>4</sup> we then proceeded on. passed Several Bottoms covered with C. W. Timber the River Gits narrower & deeper than below the hills make near the River on each Side. at dark we Camped on N. S. jest ab<sup>o</sup> a Bottom of fine Timber.<sup>5</sup>

Sunday 14<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> Cloudy & rain. we Set off eairly. passed a bottom covered with Timber on S. S. pass<sup>d</sup> a creek<sup>6</sup> & Black

<sup>1</sup> In council the chief, Lassel, had requested the white men to take one of the Arikara chiefs on with them to the Mandan and the other nations above on the river in order that peace might be made between them and the Arikara.

<sup>2</sup> In Campbell County, about the 1,334 mile point of the Missouri.

<sup>3</sup> Clark calls this Stone Idol Creek, from three stone images found in the vicinity, and relates an interesting legend concerning them. Here as frequently there is some confusion as to which side of the Missouri the stream comes in. It is modern Spring, or Hermaphrodite Creek, in northern Campbell County.

<sup>4</sup> The trial of John Newman and Moses B. Reed, who had been confined the day before. Here as in earlier similar cases there is an evident disinclination on the part of the diarists to speak of the matter. Ordway alone, even mentions Reed's name in connection with it. The Orderly Book discloses that Newman was charged with "having uttered repeated expressions of a highly criminal and mutinous nature," to the obvious subversion of discipline and loyalty on the part of the members of the expedition. He was convicted by a jury of nine of his peers and sentenced to receive seventy-five lashes on his bare back and to be "henceforth discarded from the perminent party engaged for North Western discovery."

<sup>5</sup> The last camp in South Dakota, on or near the site of former Vanderbilt post office.

<sup>6</sup> "this creek we call after the third chief Pisheto (or Eagles feather)." Clark. Laid down as Eagle Feather Creek on the M. R. C. map; as Blackfoot

Bluffs on S. S. we halted at 12 o'clock on a sand bar. the proceedings of the Court Martial was read & put in to Execution.<sup>1</sup> it [rained] Slowly the greater part of the Day. Camped on N. S. below a Timbred Bottom.<sup>2</sup>

Monday 15<sup>th</sup> Oct Some rain last night. Cloudy morning we Set off early. pass<sup>d</sup> a Timbred bottom where we Saw Some Indians. at 7 o.C. we met a hunting party of the Rickarees comming down the river returning to their village. they had 12 Cannoes made of Buffalow hides loaded with excelent fat meat. we halted with them about 2 hours. they Gave us Some of their fat meat to carry with us & Gave us Some that they cooked to eat. we Smoaked with them. their party consisted of men women & children our officers Gave them in return Some fish hooks Beeds & C. we proceeded on passed Barron hills on the South Side of the River at 10 o.C. we passed another hunting party who were Encamped in a timbred bottom on S.S. passed a handsome Bottom prarie & the Mouth of a creek where their was an

Creek on other recent maps. It is in Corson County, S. Dak., just below the northern boundary of the state.

<sup>1</sup> Newman's punishment presents several aspects of unusual interest. To the least detail the setting of the grim wilderness tragedy satisfies the sense of dramatic propriety. The prompt trial and conviction by a jury of his peers; the stern sentence imposed, of which the infliction of seventy-five lashes may be accounted far the lesser part; the noonday halt on the lonely sand bar in the dreary October rain for the discharge of the disagreeable duty, to the end that discipline might be maintained and the safety of the expedition conserved; the manly course of the culprit who strove through weary months to atone for his fault and win from his grim commanders remission of his sentence of dismissal; finally, the lofty sense of duty and justice displayed by Lewis, who while himself refusing to abate in the slightest degree the punishment decreed, yet, the expedition safely over, warmly recommended Newman to the clemency of his superiors (see for the latter his letter to the secretary of war, Jan. 15, 1807, printed in Thwaites, VII, 355-57). The silence of the journals of Newman's comrades concerning his disgrace is no less eloquent. Two of them, Gass and Ordway, were members of the court that sentenced him. Yet Ordway barely mentions the facts that a court-martial was held and punishment inflicted, while Gass is even less communicative. The Arikara chief who was present was affected at sight of the punishment to the point of weeping; yet Whitehouse, the one other comrade of Newman whose journal we have, concludes his perfunctory 2½ line entry for the day, concerning the weather and the rate of progress of the expedition, with the quiet commonplace, "nothing else extraordinary hapened this day." The silence of Gass and Ordway, together with this remarkable statement of Whitehouse, constitutes by no means the least interesting phase of the affair.

<sup>2</sup> On the south side according to Clark. Camp was about five miles above the state line, either in Emmons or Morton County, N. Dak.

old village Some years ago of the Chian Nation on S.S. we proceeded on. passed timbred bottoms on each Side of the River we Saw a number of Indians on the Shore on N.S. pass<sup>d</sup> a creek on s.s. at Sunset we Camped on N.S. at a hunting Camp of the R.Ree nation. their was ab<sup>t</sup> 30 men & a number of women & children at this Camp. they treated us in the Same manner as the rest of their nation did. the Greatest Curiosity to them was York Cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks Black Man. all the nation made a great deal of him the children would follow after him, & if he turned towards them they would run from him & hollow as if they were terrefied, & afraid of him.

Tuesday 16<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1804. a clear & pleasant morning. we Set off at day light. passed an old Shian fort on the S.S. where the Chian nation of Indians lived Some years ago. proceeded on passed a creek on s.s. called [blank in Ms.]<sup>1</sup> passed a Bottom covered with Timbers on N.S. at half past 7 oC. we halted [and] took breakfast on a willow Island S.S. pass<sup>d</sup> the Mouth of a River on S. S. called [blank in Ms.]<sup>2</sup> high naked hills back from the River. we proceeded on under a gentle breeze from the S.W. towards evening Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & one hunter went out hunting on S. S. of the River. directly after we passed a hunting Camp of the R.Ree nation on N.S. ab<sup>o</sup> the camp we Saw a Great number of Indians on each side of the River. they were Shooting a flock of Goats which they had drove into the River. They Shot upwards of 40 of them & got them to Shore. they had Shot them all with their Bows & arrows. we Saw Some of the Goats floating down with the arrows Sticking up in them. we Saw a large flock of Goats back on the hills. which we Suppose they had Scared from the River. our hunter killed 3 Goats out of the Same flock. the Indians killed theirs when the Indians killed the Goats in the River they Swam in & drew them out to each Shore. we Saw them all lying along the Shore &. Some Indians on horseback to keep them or the flock in the River. So that they might kill as many as they pleased. we Camped on the S.S.<sup>3</sup> where Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & our hunter joined us.

<sup>1</sup> "which we call Chien Creek." Clark.

<sup>2</sup> Clark notices and names five streams passed this day, all in southern Emmons and Morton counties. It is not possible to identify all of them with assurance. One of them, called Warrecone by Clark, Coues identifies as modern Big Beaver Creek which flows across the central part of Emmons County.

<sup>3</sup> In Morton County, four miles above the mouth of Big Beaver Creek.

Wednesday 17<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> Eight Indians came on from their Camp last night & brought us Some meat. they remained with us all night & Sang the most of the night in the morning our officers gave them Some fancy goods in return for the meat. the weather clear. the wind from N.W. we Set off eairly. proceeded on. passed a Bottom covered with Small timber on S. S. Barron hill[s] on N.S. which make in close to the River. ab<sup>t</sup> 10 oC. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark our Indian & one hunter went out hunting on S.S. & at 11 oC. the [wind] arose & blew So hard a head that we were obledged to lay by. we halted on N.S. 2 men went out hunting towards evening the wind abated So that we proceeded on untill some time after dark before we found a good place to to camp the moon Shined pleasant. we Camped on South Side in a timbred bottom.<sup>1</sup> Cap 'Clark & all the hunters except one who camped on the opposite Shore, joined us they had killed Six Deer. Some of them verry fat. we took care of all the meat & Skins & C.

Thursday 18<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> a clear & pleasant morning white frost & froze Some last night. we Set off eairly. one man out hunting on each Side of the River. we proceeded on 2 miles met a cannoe coming down the River which belonged to the frenchman we had on board M<sup>r</sup> Gravelleen. their was 2 frenchman in the cannoe who had been a hunting up to the Manden nation and was Robed by a hunting party of the Mandens. they took their Guns & amunition & C. axe & 30 beaver Skins & all they had So they were obledged to turn back but when they met us they turned about in hopes we Should See them & make them Give up all they had taken from them. we proceeded on<sup>2</sup> men went out hunting on N.S. the man who Stayed out last night joined us. had killed 2 fat Goats. we proceeded on passed the mouth of Cannon Ball River<sup>3</sup> on S.S. about 100 y<sup>ds</sup> wide passed Sand Stone Bluff on the Same Side ab<sup>o</sup> the River where we found round Stone in the form of cannon balls. Some of them verry large we took one of them on Board to answer for an anker. one of our hunters joined us here had killed an Elk & a pillican. we Saw large flocks of Goats

<sup>1</sup> In Emmons County, three miles below the mouth of Cannon Ball River.

<sup>2</sup> At this point in the manuscript the following was written and afterward crossed out: "passed a Sand Stone Bluff on the S. S. one of our [men] came on board had killed an Elk & a pillican."

<sup>3</sup> The river takes its name from the circumstance noted by Ordway in the next sentence. It is a considerable stream with two main forks, and flows in a general easterly direction to its junction with the Missouri.

& Buffalo on N.S. proceeded on passed a creek<sup>1</sup> on N.S. Timbred Bottoms the most of the day on Each Side of the River. Roed & poled about 16 Miles & Camped on a large Sand beach on the S. S.<sup>2</sup> our hunters all joined us had killed Six Deer 4 Goats & 3 Elk we Got all the Meat except 2 of the Elk which was too late to find them. the most of the Meat was verry fat. the Game is verry pleanty here the man that killed the 3 Elk Said he counted 150 in the Same flock. (handsome plains back f.R.)

Friday 19<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> a clear & pleasant morning. we Set off eairly. 2 men out hunting on S.S. a gentle breeze from the South we proceeded on passed a Timbred bottom on N. S. 2 men went out hunting on N.S. & in a few minutes killed an Elk. we took it on board & proceeded on untill ab<sup>t</sup> 1 o.C. when we halted for dinner on s.s. one of the hunters that went out this morning joined us had killed 2 Elk. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & 2 more hunters went out hunting on s.s. Sailed on. Saw an abundance of droves of Buffalo on N.S. pass<sup>d</sup> a Bottom on N.S. where we took on board 2 of the hunters who had killed 3 deer towards evening our hunters all joined us. had killed 4 more Deer. the Skins were all Given out to the party & C.<sup>3</sup>

Saturday 20<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> Set off eairly a pleasant morning. Several hunters out hunting on each Side of the River. we passed a creek on N. S. 20 y<sup>ds</sup> wide. passed Bottoms covered with Timber on Boath Sides of the River. pass<sup>d</sup> a creek on S.S. opposite the lower point of an Island.<sup>4</sup> towards evening we passed the 1<sup>st</sup> old village of the Mandens on the S.S. (Saw Buffalow Swimming the River) we Camped at a Stone coal Bluff on S. S.<sup>5</sup> our hunters joined us. Brought in the Game which they had killed this day which was 12 Deer one Goat & a wolf, one of the hunters wounded a White Bare.

Sunday 21<sup>st</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> Some frozen rain last night Snow this morning. the wind from N. E. we Set off as usal. proceeded on

<sup>1</sup> "called the Che wah or fish river." Clark. Now known as Long Lake Creek, in northern Emmons County.

<sup>2</sup> In Morton County, 5½ miles above the mouth of Long Lake Creek.

<sup>3</sup> The night's camp was a few miles above the southern boundary of Burleigh County.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently modern Sibley Island. The stream opposite it is Little Heart River, in Morton County. On modern maps the mouth of this stream is shown below the mouth of Apple Creek.

<sup>5</sup> In Burleigh County two miles below the mouth of Heart River. On the opposite side of the river is the site of Fort Abraham Lincoln, the starting point of General Custer's last campaign, in May, 1876.

the current Swift. we passed the m<sup>o</sup> of a River called Chifschetar River<sup>1</sup> on S. S. Snowed Slowly untill 12 oClock. pass<sup>d</sup> Bottom on S. S. barron hills on the N. S. on the River & back from the [river] is Smoth handsom plains. about 3 o.C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & one hunter went out hunting on N. S. & in a Short time they Shot a Bull buffaloe which was Tollerable fat. one of the hunters Shot an otter. a cool & chilley day We Camped on the S. S. at a high prarie.<sup>2</sup>

Monday 22<sup>nd</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> Some Snow last night. the frenchman in the cannoe who are in company with us have caught Several large Beaver every night for Several nights back. we Set off eairly Cloudy & cool this morning. we proceeded on at 9 oClock we met a 11 Indians of the Souix nation yankton tribe. they were naked & S<sup>d</sup> they were on their way down the River Gave them Some meat and proceeded on. at 11 oC. I went out hunting. the after part of the day pleasant. I Saw on the hills flocks of Goats & Buffaloes. Several Salt Runs in the vallies. I killed a Buffalow and Returned to the Boat in the evening. Camped on the South Side.

Tuesday 23 Oc<sup>t</sup> a little Snow last night a cloudy morning. we Set off eairly. about 9. o. C. we passed the Indian Camp N. S. where the 2 frenchman was Robed a fiew days ago. they had left their Camp. their was 3 of their lodges Standing on N. S. which was built in the Same manner as those in their villages. proceeded on passed Several Timbred bottoms where we Saw pleanty of Grasses Rushes & C. Camped on S. S. at a Bottom covered with timber<sup>3</sup> where we found a large quantity of Graze the Buff. or Rabit Ranges<sup>4</sup> of which we eat freely off. they are a Small red berry, Sower & Good to the taste. we have Seen them pleanty in this Country.

Wednesday 24<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> Cloudy. we Set off eairly. proceeded on passed a Bottom on N. S. covered with fine Timber Such as oak & large cottonwood, & C. 12 o. C. we halted at an Is<sup>l</sup> on N. S. where we found a hunting camp of the Mandan Nation of Indians. the chief we had on board Spoke to the chief of this party

<sup>1</sup> Modern Heart River, which joins the Missouri a short distance below and across the river from the city of Bismarek.

<sup>2</sup> At or near the site of the town of Mandan.

<sup>3</sup> Coues locates the camp near Sanger, Oliver County. Wheeler (I, 192), on the other hand, locates it near Washburn.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Ordway intended to write "Rabbit Berries"; "called by the French *graisse de buffle* or *buffalo-fat*." Biddle.

[and] told them our business & they had Some handsome women with them. at 2 o. C. we proceeded on passed the Is<sup>1</sup> where the River cut [four or five words of Ms. too worn to read] which formerly used to be 10 miles Round by its cutting across forms the Is<sup>1</sup> Camped on the N. S.<sup>1</sup> 4 of the natives came to our camp but did not remain with us but a Short time.

Thursday 25<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> a clear morning. we Set off eairly under a fine breeze from the S. Sailed on passed a handsom high prarie on S. S. where their was formerly a village of the Rickarrees nation. we Saw a number of the natives Strung along the Shore on horse back looking at us. at 2 oC we halted for to dine on S. S. our chief went over to Speak to the natives on N. S. in a canoe as we could not land on that Shore with our boat for the Sand beaches & C. proceeded on round a Bend passed a handsome Timbred bottom on N. S. Camped on the N. S. one of the natives came to our Camp with our chief & rem<sup>d</sup> all night & C.

Friday 26<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> a clear morning. we Set off eairly. passed a large willow Bottom on S. S. high land on N. S. we proceeded on at 10 oClock we halted at a hunting camp of the Mandens, consisting of men women and children. here we found an Irishman who was here tradeing with them from the N. W. Company of Traders.<sup>2</sup> we delay<sup>d</sup> about an hour with them, & proceeded on. took 2 of the natives on board with their Baggage in order to go to their Camp kept along Shore Going up to the villages. we Camped on the S. S.<sup>3</sup> below the 1<sup>st</sup> village at an old field where the Manden nation had raised corn the last Summer, & Sun flowers & C. of which they eat with corn. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis walked up to the village this evening. found the nation verry friendly, & C.

Saturday 27<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> a clear & pleasant morning. we Set off eairly. proceeded on. at 7 oC. we arived at the 1<sup>st</sup> village of the Mandens on S. S. their is about 40 houses or lodges in this village

<sup>1</sup> Coues locates today's camp in the vicinity of Washburn, McLean County.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh McCracken, an ex-artilleryman, who had been for some years in the employ of the North West Company. This company was organized by a group of Montreal merchants in 1783-81 to compete with the Hudson's Bay Company for the fur trade, hitherto monopolized by the latter. In 1821, after a generation of fierce rivalry, the older organization absorbed the younger.

<sup>3</sup> In Mercer County, about five miles below the mouth of Knife River. The end of the year's journey was now at hand. The approach of winter warned the leaders of the necessity of preparing winter quarters, and after some time spent in seeking a suitable situation, a point was chosen three miles below today's camp, on the opposite side of the river in McLean County, and here Fort Mandan was built.



which are built much in the manner of the Rekarees. we found two or 3 frenchmen one of them<sup>1</sup> kept a Squaw & had a child by hir which was tollerable white. we delayed about 2 hours with them. they were assembled on the bank, especially the children, who are verry numerous. the men mostly a hunting. we proceeded on passed a Bluff on the S. S. with a black Stripe through the center of it resembling Stone coal. a bottom opposite on N. S. on which is the 2 village of the Mandens. we Camped on N. S. little above the 2 village.<sup>2</sup> the 3<sup>rd</sup> village nearly opposite on S. S. this is the most conveneint place to hold a counsel with the whole nation. we hoisted a flag pole & C. from the mouth of the Missouri to this place is 1610 miles.

Sunday 28<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> a clear morning all things made ready to hold a counsel the wind blew verry high from the N. W. So the Indians did not assemble, but the prinsible men of the tribe called the Big Belley<sup>3</sup> came down to this village in order to be at the counsel. the form of these Savages burrying their dead is after they have diseased they fix a Scaffel on raised 4 forks ab<sup>t</sup> 8 or 10 feet from the Ground they lye the dead body on the S<sup>d</sup> Scaffel Roped up in a Buffalow Robe. a little distance from their villages. their villages are close compact & picketed in. when any of them loose a partickulor friend or relation they morn and cry for Some time after.

Monday 29<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> a clear & pleasant morning. we expect the Indians to assemble to day for to hold a Council with our officers. Specially the chiefs & warries of 3 nat<sup>s</sup> at 11 oClock the counsel commenced a Gun was fired from our Bow peace when our officers took the chiefs by the hand Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis delivered a Speech to them through Interpreter, & counseled with the Manden Grovanters & Weta Souix<sup>4</sup> nations, the counsel was ended about 4 oC. P. M. another Gun was fired, & then our officers Gave the or each head chief a meddel & a flag and made a 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> chief to each village & Gave the head chiefs a Suit of cloaths and a quantity of Small Goods for their nations. cocked hats & feathers & C. & C. Gave also a Steel corn mill to the

<sup>1</sup> This was René Jessaume, for whom see *post*, 163, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> In McLean County, one or two miles below the mouth of Knife River.

<sup>3</sup> More properly known by the French name, Grosventre.

<sup>4</sup> The traveler, Maximilian, questions the correctness of many of the Indian names given by Lewis and Clark, ascribing them to errors in interpreting. "Wattasoon" is the more common form of the last name here given.

Manden nation which pleased them verry much<sup>1</sup> the captains requested them to assemble again tomorrow if possible to Give us answer to what we had S<sup>d</sup> to them respecting makeing peace with the Rickarees and all other nations & whether they mean to Go to See their Great father & C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Shot the air Gun which pleased them much they returned home to their village. hoisted the flag we Gave them as well as the officers Gave an american flag for each village & C. & C.

Tuesday 30<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> a clear and pleasant morning. we delayed in order to Give the Savvages time to consider & Give an answer to the counsel & C. at 10 o. C. A. M. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 8 of the party went in a pearogue Six miles up the River to look on an Is<sup>l</sup> for a place for our winter quarters. one or 2 of the natives went with them at 5 oC. P. M. they returned and enformed us that it the place was not Suitable for us to winter & C. the natives were a number of the men & women about our camp [who came] with Some corn & Bread made of the corn meal parched & mixed with fat & C. which eats verry well, they expect us to give them Some Small article in return for their produce, Such as corn Beans Squasshes & C of which they they raise pleanty off for themselves & to trade with other nations.

Wednesday 31<sup>st</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> a Clear & pleasant morning. the wind Blew high from the South. the Savvages has not Gave us an answer yet. about 12 oClock Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & Some of the men went down to the 2<sup>nd</sup> village. the chiefs Gave them 9 or 10 Bushels of corn & 1 or 2 Buffalow Robes & C.

Thursday 1<sup>st</sup> November 1804. a clear morning the wind high from the N. W. cool, at 3 oClock P. M. we Set off to return a Short distance down the River in order to find a Good place for winter quarters. the wind abated. But the River So Shallow the [that] we Struck the Sand bars. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis myself and Several more of the party halted at the 1<sup>st</sup> village of the Mandens in order to git Some corn. the head chief told us that they had not Got the corn ready. But if we would come tomorrow they [w]ould have it ready. they Gave us 3 kinds of victuls to eat which was verry Good. they were verry friendly & C. they live verry well.

<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless they proceeded, before long, to demolish it in order to procure iron with which to barb their arrows. Henry, who saw the remains of it two years later, records that, unable to break up or affix to any weapon the largest piece, they had provided it with a wooden handle and employed it to pound marrowbones with in order to extract the grease. Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest* (New York, 1897), I, 329.

have plenty of corn Beans Squashes meat &.C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis told the chief that he would come again tomorrow. then we went on ab<sup>t</sup> 2 miles down to a Bottom covered with Timber, where we Camped on the N. Side of the Missouri River.

## CHAPTER VI

AT FORT MANDAN, NOVEMBER 2, 1804—APRIL 6, 1805

Friday 2<sup>nd</sup> Nov. a cloudy morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went with Some men down the Bottom to look for a place to Build our huts. they Returned Shortly had found a Good place a Short distance down where the[re] was an Indian camp in a grove of large cottonwood Timber. Sevrul Indians at s<sup>d</sup> camp Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & Several of the party went in a pearogue up to the 1<sup>st</sup> village of the Mandans in order to Git corn. we dropped down a Short distance farther to a body & Bottom of large Timber where we commenced falling Timber, and fixing a camp close by the place where we intend for to build.<sup>1</sup> pitched our tents & laid the foundation of one line of our huts, which consisted of 4 Rooms 14 feet Square. the other line will be the Same<sup>2</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis returned. brought us 10 or 12 bushels of Good corn. we find the cottonwood Timber will Split Tollorable well, and as their is no other building timber in this bottom we expect to Split punchin to cover the huts with one of our french hands is discharged & gone down the river.

Saturday 3<sup>rd</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1804. a clear and pleasant morning. Six hunters Set out to go 20 or 30 miles down the River in a pearogue to good hunting Ground in order to kill meat for the party. we

<sup>1</sup> Fort Mandan, the construction of which was now begun, was located in McLean County, seven or eight miles below the mouth of Knife River. Nearly opposite its site, on the west side of the river, Fort Clark was built in 1831 to serve as a trading center of the American Fur Company. Since 1822 the company had maintained a fortified trading post in the immediate vicinity. Until the passing away of the fur-trade period on the upper Missouri, Fort Clark continued an important center of trade.

<sup>2</sup> "The following is the manner in which our huts and fort were built. The huts were in two rows, containing four rooms each, and joined at one end forming an angle. When raised about 7 feet high a floor of puncheons or split plank were laid, and covered with grass and clay; which made a warm loft. The upper part projected a foot over and the roofs were made shed fashion, rising from the inner side, and making the outer wall about 18 feet high. The part not enclosed by the huts we intend to picket. In the angle formed by the two rows of huts we built two rooms, for holding our provisions and stores." Gass, November 3.



FORT CLARK IN FEBRUARY, 1831

From Maximilian, *Prince of Wied's Travels*



continued building. layed the foundation of the other line of huts 4 by 14 feet also. the timber large and heavy. M<sup>r</sup> [name blank in Ms.]<sup>1</sup> our Interpreter moved down from village with his famialy to Stay with us a frenchman came from the village also who has engaged to join us for the expedition & C.<sup>2</sup> Some of the Squaws came from the vil. bro<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> meat & C.

Sunday 4<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1804. cold last night & white frost this morning. clear and pleasant. we continued raiseing our huts. Several more of our french hands is discharged<sup>3</sup> and one makeing a pearogue in order to descend the Missourie & Several of the natives come to our camp to see us build our huts, and to See our boats & C. we got one line of our huts raised So that we got the Eve Beames on & all of large Timber So that it took all the men hard lifting to put the 16 foot eve Beames.

Monday 5<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1804. a clear & pleasant morning. all hands to work earily raiseing the other line of our huts. & Splitting out punchiens for to lay the loft which we intend covering over with earth in order to make the huts more warm and comfortable. we dug a vault 100 y<sup>ds</sup> ab<sup>o</sup> the huts in order to make or keep the place healthy.

Tuesday 6<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> it was uncommon light in the north the Greater part of last night<sup>4</sup> a clear morning. about 9 oC it clouded up cold look[ed]likely for Snow at 11 o. C. our french man who came with us from the R. A. Rees<sup>5</sup> as an Intreperter

<sup>1</sup> "Mr Jessomme with his Squar & children came down to live, as Interpreter." Clark. This was René Jessaume, a French-Canadian who had long resided in this section. The explorers had first encountered him on October 27, and the leaders had engaged his services in the capacity of interpreter. He was employed by them throughout the ensuing winter of 1804-5; later, upon the return of the exploring party, he accompanied the Mandan chief to Washington. The various travelers who write of Jessaume unite in giving him a malodorous reputation. See *ante*, Introduction, 21; Wheeler, I, 204; *Early Western Travels*, V, 156; and "Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal," in *Wis. Hist. Soc., Proc.*, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> Baptiste Le Page, who was enlisted to take the place of John Newman who had been discharged as a deserter. Le Page continued with the expedition until its conclusion at St. Louis in September, 1806.

<sup>3</sup> These men were not regarded as regular members of the permanent expedition. They had been engaged at St. Louis to accompany the party to the first winter camp, chiefly in the capacity of boatmen.

<sup>4</sup> Due to a display of the northern lights or aurora borealis.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Gravelines, the trader whom the party found among the Arikara on October 7. Clark called him "an honest, discrete man and an excellent boatman." He was employed by the two captains to conduct a party of Arikara

and Several of our french have Set off to descend the River in a pearogue [Ms. too worn to read last line of page]

Wednesday 7<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> a Cloudy morning. we continued building. the Cap<sup>ts</sup> Room being hughn [hewn] down the inside, we layed the loft over with hughn puncheen. then Stopped the craks with Some old tarpolin & Grass Some mortar [and] then a thick coat of earth over all, which will make it verry warm. commenced building the chimneys & C.

Thursday 8<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> Cloudy. we continued building with as much haste as possible in order to git in them before winter Sets in. we found that the C. W. [cottonwood] will rive well So that we are in hopes to make enofe to cover our buildings. but afterwards found it difficult and Gave up the Idea.

Friday 9<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> a hard white frost last night. a clear & pleasant morning. we continued building as usual. we expect our hunters Soon as we are in great want of fresh meat. a number of the natives visits us every day.

Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> Cloudy & cold. the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief & a Squaw came from the 1<sup>st</sup> village down in a buffaloe hide canoe. brought us Som fat buffalow meat. we finished raiseing one line of our huts. commenced hughing & Guttering the the puncheen for the purpose of covering the huts.

Sunday 11<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> a clear and pleasant morning. we commenced dobbing our huts & covering them & C. a frenchmans Squaw<sup>1</sup> came to our camp who belonged to the Snake nation She came with our Intrepters wife & brought with them 4 buffalow Robes and Gave them to our officers. they Gave them out to the party. I Got one fine one myself. chilly this evening & C.

Monday 12<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> Clear & cold this morning. a verry hard frost. froze Some last night. we continued our buildings as usual. the chief of the lower village of the Mandens brought us Some

chiefs to Washington. President Jefferson sent him back with a commission to teach the Arikara agriculture, and to "make every enquirey" after Lewis and Clark's party. Clark, Sept. 12, 1806.

<sup>1</sup> The Frenchman was Charbonneau, who served the expedition as interpreter from its departure from Fort Mandan in the spring of 1805 until its return to this vicinity in August, 1806. One of his wives, here alluded to, was the noted Sacajawea, the heroine of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Thus modestly does she make her entry into our story. But her modesty was equaled by her greatness of soul; again and again in the further course of the expedition we shall find evidences of the truth of this statement.



buffalow meat<sup>1</sup> which we were in want [of] as our hunters has not arived yet. we unloaded the pearogue in order to fetch Stone.

Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> Nov. Snowey morning the Ice run considerable fast in the river. we unloaded the boat for fear the Ice would take it off. we put the loading in the Store house, all though it was not finished, but we continued the work Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & 6 men went in the pearogue up the River through the Ice to the first village of the Mandens after Stone for the backs of our Chimneys. Some of the Souix Indians came here with a chief of the Mandens. they asked for whiskey & C. but we Gave them none. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis returned with his party towards evening much fatigued. they got fast on a Sand bar & had to be out in the water ab<sup>t</sup> 2 hours. the Ice running against their legs. their close frooze on them. one of them got 1 of his feet frost bit. it hapned that they had Some whiskey with them to revive their Spirits.

Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> a Snowey morning. one man Sent down the River in order to meet the pearogue & to See what was the cause of their delaying So long. ab<sup>t</sup> 3 o.C. P. M. we Saw a cannoe comming up the River with 2 men on board which we Supposed to be the frenchman who went down the River Some days ago trapping. at dark the 2 frenchman ar<sup>i</sup>[ved] had caught 22 beaver. they did not See our hunting party.

Thursday 15<sup>th</sup> Nov. Cloudy. George Drewyer arived with the frenchman who went after them. he Informed us that the pearogue was ab<sup>t</sup> 18 m<sup>l</sup> below loaded with meat. the frenchman Sent back to the pearogue with a kittle to put on<sup>2</sup> the Bow of the pearogue was cut with the Ice & C.

<sup>1</sup> Big White, or Sheheke, principal chief of the lower Mandan village. Clark's description of the visit carries a characteristic flavor of savage manners: "he packd about 100<sup>lb</sup> of fine meet on his squar for us." In addition to this load the "squar" carried, seemingly, her child, for Clark further notes that some small presents were made to it.

Sheheke and his squaw descended the Missouri with Lewis and Clark, upon their return journey in 1806, to visit the President at Washington. In 1807 Sergeant Pryor was intrusted with the duty of escorting the chieftain to his Dakota home. But the detachment of soldiers was attacked by the Arikara and compelled to beat a retreat; not until 1809 was Sheheke returned to his village. After all this trouble and exile a sad fate awaited him. The "extravagant tales" which he told of the things he had seen on his excursion into civilization caused his fellows to set him down as a trifier and braggart; "for," writes Brackenridge, "the Mandans treat with ridicule the idea of there being a greater or more numerous people than themselves." *Early Western Travels*, VI, 137.

<sup>2</sup> "we sent by the man Tin, to put on the parts of the Perogue exposed to the ice & a toe roape." Clark.

Friday 16<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> a cold frosty night. the Trees were covered with frost which was verry course white & thick even on the Bows of the trees all this day. Such a frost I never Saw in the States. we continued building. raised a provision & Smoak house 24 feet by 14 f. the air verry thick with fogg from the R.

Saturday 17<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> a cold clear morning. the forst fell from the trees by the Sun Shineing upon them. at 11 o.C. the frenchman arived with a fat Elk from our pearogue we have worked Several evenings back to make our Sevels comfotable.<sup>1</sup> the party all moved in to the the huts.

Sunday 18<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> clear & cold. we raised the roof of the meat & Smoak house bringing it up with Timber cross drawing in, So as to answer with chinks & dobbing [daubing] & covering with earth & ashes for the covering without plank, as it is Troublesom to Git any more than to cover our huts. ab<sup>t</sup> noon a chief<sup>2</sup> came down from the village. his Squaw brought a back load of corn in ears for us.

Monday 19<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> the River Riseing the wind from S.W. the weather moderated as the day is pleasant. we dobbed the Store & Smoak house. all hands employed at different Sort of work. ab<sup>t</sup> 3 o.C. P.M. our hunters arived with the pearogue loaded with meat consisting of 5 buffalow 11 Elk & 30 Deer also Several kinds of Small Game of which they brought the Skins, all the meat we put up on poles in the Roofs of our meat & Smoak houses.

Tuesday 20<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> clear & pleasant at 11 o.C. a frenchman<sup>3</sup> who is to be our Int<sup>er</sup> for Grovantares arived with 4 horses loaded with peltry meat & C. brought another of his wives with him. the day warm. the work go on as usal. Captains moved in their Room, & C. at Stone & C.

Wednesday 21<sup>st</sup> No<sup>v</sup> cloudy & warm 1 of the pearogues Sent a Short distance down the River for Stone for the Back of our chimneys 4 backs made & C.

Thursday 22<sup>d</sup> No<sup>v</sup> pleasant & warm Sg<sup>t</sup> Pryor & 5 men Sent with a pearogue to the 2<sup>nd</sup> village of the mandens for corn we

<sup>1</sup> "all hands work at their huts untill 1 oClock at night." Clark, November 15.

<sup>2</sup> The Mandan chief, Black Cat, according to Clark. In addition to other business "he made great inquiries respecting our fashions." He was principal chief of the second Mandan village. On Feb. 8, 1805, Clark characterizes him as possessed of "more integrety, firmness, intilgence and perspicuity of mine" than any other Indian he had met with in that quarter.

<sup>3</sup> Charbonneau, for whom see *ante*, 161, note 1.

completed building the backs of our chimneys. the pearogue returned towards evening with ab<sup>t</sup> 12 bushels of mixed coullour<sup>d</sup> corn in ears [word illegible] which the natives took out of the Ground where they burry it in holes in their village.

Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> No<sup>v</sup> pleasant & warm the pearogue Sent for Stone. Rope works fixed. Several hands employed making a large Rope<sup>t</sup> for the purpose of drawing the Barge up the Bank & C.

Saturday 24<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> warm & pleasant the work continued on as usual. the Guard reduced to a Sg<sup>t</sup> & 3 men. a number of the natives visits us every day.

Sunday 25<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> a pleasant morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis the 2 Intrepreters & Six men Set off this morning in order to go 24 miles ab<sup>o</sup> this place to a nation of Indians called the [blank in Ms.]<sup>2</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & the In<sup>tr</sup> Rode on horseback 5 men went in a pearogue up the the Missourie The men employed compleating the huts & C.

Monday 26<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> cold & windy. Some pickets out & C.

Tuesday 27<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> cold & chilly, the Ice Ran in the River thick. we finished dobbing & covering & compleating the remainder of our huts & C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & command [Ms. too worn to decipher] brought with them three chiefs from the upper village of the Grovantaur. they apper to be very friendly. Gave us a little corn & were Glad to come & see us. they S<sup>d</sup> that the Manden nation told them that we we would do them harm, & that was the reason they had not been to see us before. we had a dance this evening. Rivet dances on his head<sup>3</sup> & C.

Wednesday 28<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> Snowed hard the Greater part of last night. Snow this morning. the wind from N.E. the River falling. Gealousy between M<sup>r</sup> Gi[b]son one of our in<sup>tr</sup> and George Drewyer last evening. & C.

Thursday 29<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> the Snow fell yesterday and last night about 12 Inches on a level. a cold frosty clear morning. 2 or 3 men out hunting. the River fell ab<sup>t</sup> 2 feet last night So that our Boat lay dry on Shore. we took out the mast & every thing

<sup>1</sup> It was made of "9 strans of Elk skin." Clark, November 24.

<sup>2</sup> "to see the Indians in the different Towns & camps in this neighbourhood." Clark.

<sup>3</sup> Rivet was one of the Frenchmen who had been picked up by the expedition at the mouth of Cannon Ball River, October 18. He spent the winter at Fort Mandan, returning as far as the Arikara villages with the party sent back to St. Louis when winter quarters were broken up, in April, 1805.

which was in hir & let hir lay as She appeared to be Safe. one of the hunters killed an old Elk bro<sup>t</sup> in the horns which were verry large, but it being poor we did not go for the meat.

Friday 30<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> a clear Sharp frosty morning. froze hard last night. about 9 oClock A.M. an Indian came to the opposite Side of the River and called to come across. our Intrepter Spoke to him [and] found he was come to bring news from the village So we brought him across in a pearogue. he Informed us that a party of the Souix nation had atcked a party of the Mandans. they killed 1 man on each Side Several more wounded, but the Souix Robbed the party of Manden of their horses 5 or 6 this being done lately our officers thought it best to offer the Mandens Some assistance if they were disposed to fight the Souix. So Captain Clark, myself & 20 more of the party turned out voluntarily and crossed the River and marched through a bottom covered with Small Timber, willows & all kinds of thick brush for ab<sup>t</sup> 3 miles. flanking parties out each Side & a rear Guard. I being on the left flank found it difficult getting through the brush. we raised a Steep bank back of this bottom which brot us on the level prarie, then turned our course & went to the first yillage of the mandens, Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark told the H. chief what we had come for, and if he would Send a war party from his village & the Black cat another from his village we would go with them & fight the Souix but the chief declined Sending any at present for he S<sup>d</sup> the Snow too deep & C. So we delayed in the village ab<sup>t</sup> 2 hours they appeared to be pleased at our comming to their assistance & used us friendly. they would have us to Eat in every lodge we went in & C. we then Set off from the village & crossed the river on the Ice [a] little above the vil. but the River was Shet up for Some distance below. we then returned down to our Garrison. our officers Gave each man a drink of Taffe,<sup>1</sup> which we Stood in need off.

Saturday 1<sup>st</sup> December 1804. the morning fair. we commenced bringing the pickets & preparing to picket in our Garrison & C. an Indian came from the Manden village to Inform us that a large number 300 lodge of the Shian or [blank in Ms]<sup>2</sup> nation had come to their villages. a Scotsman<sup>3</sup> who is tradeing at the Man-

<sup>1</sup> This was an inferior kind of rum distilled from sugar refuse or from coarse molasses. Thwaites, I, 233, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> "chiens \* \* \* or Sharha Indians." Clark.

<sup>3</sup> "Mr G. Henderson." Clark.

dens came to visit us. he belonged to the hudson bay company [Ms. too worn to decipher] he brought over Tobacco Beeds & other kinds of Goods. & traded with the Mandens for their furs & buffalow Robes. they bring Some Guns to trade for horses & C. this hudsons bay comp<sup>y</sup> lay Garrisoned near the N. W. Comp<sup>y</sup> on River [blank in Ms.]<sup>1</sup> Eight or 10 days travel by land a North course from this.

Sunday 2<sup>nd</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> a pleasant thoughy morning the work continued on. a number of the Shian or dog Indians came from the village to visit us. we gave them victuals & used them friendly. our officers Gave them Some tobacco & a few Small articles of Goods & C.

Monday 3<sup>rd</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> cold & windy. the work carried on as usal. commenced Setting up the pickets and bring pickets & C. & C.

Tuesday 4<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> clear & cold. we continued setting up the pickets & bringing them & C. the chief of the 2<sup>nd</sup> vil. the Black cat came to dine with our officers accompanied by Several other Indians & C.

Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> cloudy & cold. look likely for Snow. we continued the work as usal. we layed a platform upon the meat & Smoak house for a Sentnel to walk.

Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> a cold Blustry morning. Some Squalls of Snow & wind high it being so disagreeable weather that we delayed on the work.

Friday 7<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> a clear cold frosty morning. 2 or 3 hunters went out earily a hunting about 9 o. C. the head chief of the 1<sup>st</sup> vil<sup>l</sup> of the Mandans called the Big White came to our Garrison in Great haste on horse back & Informed us that the Buffalow were coming towards the River in large Gangs and that the praries a little back was covered with Game. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Immediately Started with 12 men in order to hunt with the natives. they had not been Gone long before we Saw Some buffalow in cite ab<sup>o</sup> the Garrison near the bank of the River two of our men & Several of the natives were Shooting at them. they Shot three & run one off a Steep bank in to the River which we got out with a chord, and halled it down on the Ice to our landing as the River Shut up last night the Ice had not Got Strong enofe to bear the Buffalow out in the middle of the R. but we dragged s<sup>d</sup> buf<sup>o</sup> down near Shore & dressed it. it was a cow with calf our In-  
terpreters Squaws eat the calf. the 2 men who went out this morn-

<sup>1</sup> The Assiniboine.

ing came in & Informed us that they had killed Six buffaloe out in the prarie besides those 4 they had killed in pos<sup>t</sup> with the natives. the horses were got up & Several men Sent with them out for the meat, but they found that the Savvage had carried off 3 of them. the 4 horses came in loaded with meat also the most of the men they Said that the Savvages had killed upwards of 20 buffalow & our men killed ab<sup>t</sup> 12 one of them very fat. Som of them cows & Some calfs or yearlins. they Saw also large flocks of Goats in the praries & could See the prarie black with buffaloe at a distance aiming to come into the bottoms on the River. the prarie being covered with Snow and extreemly cold. 2 of our men Got their feet frost Bitten & one Got his Ear frost bitten this day by being exposed in the praries. a half Gill of Taffee gave to the men by our officers this evening.<sup>1</sup>

Saturday 8<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> the weather is 10 degrees colder this morn- ing than I ever new it to be in the States clear the wind N. W. about 9 o. C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 14 of the party set off a hunting [Ms. too worn to decipher] The prarie we Shortly cam in cite of a large gang of Buffalow. we Saw a number of the Savvages on horse back running after them. we proceeded on Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & myself Saw 2 or 3 Buffalow by themselves we got near them & fired at them [and] wounded one. the men all Scattered So that we missed oppertuntities of Surrounding the gangs of Buffalow. But we saw the praries Black at a distance down the River & in a Bottom which is ab<sup>t</sup> 5 miles from our fort we then went in to the Bottom and killed 2 cow Buffalow out of a large gang & wounded Several more. one of our men came to us who had killed a calf Buff we left 2 men to take care of the meat. we then Set off to return to our fort walked a short distance to where [the] calf was and carried it with us. walked fast. Saw a Deer 2 men met us with horses. we got to the fort a little after dark the hunters all come in had killed in all 6 Buffalow & one Deer. the men who went with Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark he gave a drink of Taffee the air thick with Ice all this day, like a fog.

Sunday 9<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> the morning pleasant but not So cold as it was yesterday. about 10 o. C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & 12 men went out a hunting and concluded to leave a fiew men down in a Bottom ab<sup>t</sup> 5 m<sup>ls</sup> below in order to hunt & take care of the meat. a nom-

<sup>1</sup> A number of the men had been frostbitten. Clark confesses that he himself was a little fatigued, "having run after the Buffalow all day in Snow many Places 18 inches Deep, generally 6 or 8."

ber of the Savvages came to our Garrison. Some of them brought Some fat meat and Gave to our officers. Some of the hunting party returned in the evening with our horses loaded with fine meat. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis camped with Several hunters in a Bottom 5 or 6 m<sup>ls</sup> down from the Fort and took care of the meat which they had killed in the course of the day which was about Six buffalow in all.

Monday 10<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1804. a Cloudy cold morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & Several of the hunters returned down to their last nights camp for meat. they returned with large loads of meat. the weather Gits colder verry fast So that the Sentinel had to be relieved every hour. one of the Mandan Indians who had been wounded by the Souix came to our officers to be cured. G. Drewyer killed two Buffalow and a deer & brought in the Deer this evening. the weather is [blank in Ms.] degrees colder this evening than it was this morning.<sup>1</sup> Blanket cappoes provided for each man who Stood in need of them & C.

Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> a clear cold morning. three men Started eairly for the horses in order to go down to the camp for the meat and for the men to all return to the Fort. the men returned in the afternoon with the horses loaded with meat. one of the hunters who came from the camp had killed a Buffaloe. the rest of the hunters all returned. had killed 5 Buffalow but the weather was so cold that they did not dress but one of them.

Wednesday 12<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> clear and cold. the frost was white in the Guard chimney where their was a fire kept all last night. it is Several degrees colder this morning than it has been before, so that we did nothing but git wood for our fires. our Rooms are verry close and warm So we can keep ourselves warm and comfortable, but the Sentinel who Stood out in the open weather had to be relieved every hour all this day.

Thursday 13<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> clear frosty morning but not So cold as it was yesterday. we had 2 Sleds ready provided for the purpose of halling in the meat. 2 men went out a Short time and killed 2 buffaloe one of them came in and 5 men were Sent out with him took a Sled with them and brought in the 2 buffaloe. they Saw a number of the Savvages returning from the prarie with their horses loaded with meat one of [whom] killed a Goat & brought

<sup>1</sup> "The Thermometer today at 10 & 11 Degrees below 0." Clark. "an experiment was made with proof spirits, which in fifteen minutes froze into hard ice." Gass. No wonder, as Clark notes, "Capt Lewis had a Cold Disagreeable night last [night] in the Snow on a cold point with one Small Blankett."

it in to the fort & Gave it to our officers. 2 of my mess went up to the 1<sup>st</sup> village of the Mandans to day and bought Some corn and beans with a little paint and a few rings &.C. one of the men belonging to the N. W. Comp<sup>y</sup> came down from the Grovantars upper village to see us.

Friday 14<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> Cloudy & moderate this morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Set out with 14 men to Go down the River a hunting. directly after it Set in to Snowing verry fast. a number of the Mandans came to See us. 14 of them eat in my Room at one time. the Big White dined with Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis. towards evening Several of the hunters came in & informed us that the Buffalow had left the river. they Saw but 2 they had killed 2 Deer. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & 8 men camped in a Bottom of wood 8 or 10 m<sup>l</sup> down the river from our Fort.

Saturday 15<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1804. cloudy cold and Snowey. I & 2 more of the party went up to the 1<sup>st</sup> & 2 villages of the Mandans. traded for a little corn &.C. they had all their corn in holes made in the Ground close in front of their lodges. although the day was cold & Stormy we Saw Several of the chiefs and warrie[r]s were out at a play which they call [blank in Ms.]<sup>1</sup> they had feattish rings made out of clay Stone & two men had Sticks ab<sup>t</sup> 4 feet long with 2 Short peaces across the fore end of it, and neathing on the other end, in Such a manner that they would Slide Some distance they had a place fixed across their green from the head chiefs house across ab<sup>t</sup> 50 y<sup>ds</sup> to the 2 chiefs lodge, which was Smothe as a house flour they had a Battery fixed for the rings to Stop against. two men would run at a time with Each a Stick & one carried a ring. they run ab<sup>t</sup> half way and then Slide their Sticks after the ring. they had marks made for the Game but I do not understand how they count the game. they gave us different kinds of victules & made us eat in every lodge that we went in. they were verry friendly we returned to the fort. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark had returned with the hunters. had not killed any Buffaloe for they are all back in the praries.

Sunday 16<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> clear & cold. Some of our men went up to the Mandan Village 4 men came here which belonged to the N.W. Comp<sup>y</sup> of Traders, which are now at the Mandans & Grovantars. came for the purpose of tradeing for their Robes & furs, &.C.

<sup>1</sup> The game whose description follows was a species of billiards. It was in great favor among a number of the Missouri River tribes of Indians, and numerous descriptions of it have been left by travelers. See *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1907), 511-13.



Some of our men got some Tobacco from them. they remained with [us] all night.<sup>1</sup>

Monday 17<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> a clear & cold morning. the Thurmometer Stood at about 35 fat. it has been Several degrees lower Some days past. towards evening the chiefs Son came from 1<sup>st</sup> vi<sup>ll</sup> of the Mandans & Informed us that the Buffalow were comming in towards the River, & that their was a large Gang near the Fort So that our men Scared them back by cutting fire wood for the night.

Tuesday 18<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> verry cold last night So that the Sentinel had to be relieved every half hour dureing all last night. the Tradiors from the N.W. Comp<sup>y</sup> remained with us yesterday and last night. a clear Sharp morning. the Thu<sup>m</sup> s. at 42<sup>ds</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> 12 hunters Got ready eairly to hunt the buffalow. Some of them went out on the hills but found it So cold that they would not follow the Buff<sup>o</sup> in the praries So they returned to the Fort. the Tradors left us eairly this morning. we accomodated them with a Sled [on] which they draw by a horse their Robes & furs over to their Forts.

Wednesday 19<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> the weather has moderated Some Since yesterday morning. So that we went about Setting up our pickets. half the men out at a time & relieved every hour, it being too cold to be out all the time.

Thursday 20<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> Some cloudy & Warm this morning, but a pleasant day. we continued Setting up the pickets & C.

Friday 21<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> the morning clear & warm we continued bringing & Setting pickets a number of the Savages came Staying about our Garrison espacally Several of the women.

<sup>1</sup> "Mr Henny from the Establishment on River Ossinniboin, with a letter from Mr. Charles Chaboillez one of the Co arrived in 6 days. Mr. C in his letter expressed a great anxiety to Serve us in any thing in his power." Clark. "The object of the visits we received from the N. W. Company, was to ascertain our motives for visiting that country, and to gain information with respect to the change of government." Gass. The leader of the visiting North West Company traders thus records his impressions of Fort Mandan: "Arrived at Fort Mandan, being the name the Americans give to their Fort which is constructed in a triangular form, ranges of houses making two sides, and a range of amazing long pickets the front. The whole is made so strong as to be almost cannon ball proof. The two ranges of houses do not join one another, but are joined by a piece of fortification made in the form of a demi circle that can defend two sides of the Fort, on the top of which they keep sentry all night; the lower parts of that building serves as a store. A sentinel is likewise kept all day walking in the Fort." "Journal of François Larocque, 1804-1805," in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord Ouest* \* \* \* (Quebec, 1889), I, 307-8.

Saturday 22<sup>nd</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> pleasant moderate weather. we continued Setting the Pickets a Great number of the Savages visited us brought corn & beans to Trade with us they wanted of us looking Glasses Beeds buttens or & other kinds of articles pleasing to the Eye.

Sunday 23<sup>rd</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> a clear & pleasant morning. we continued raising our pickets the Savages came in large crowds the Squaw[s] loaded with corn & Beans. we found them troublesome in our huts.

Monday 24<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> Some Snow this morning. we finished Setting pickets & arected a blacksmiths Shop. the afternoon pleasant. the Savages came as usual we fired our Swivels as to-morrow is cristmas day & C.

Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1804, cloudy. we fired the Swivels at day break & each man fired one round. our officers Gave the party a drink of Taffee. we had the Best to eat that could be had, & continued firing dancing & frolicking dureing the whole day. the Savages did not Trouble us as we had requested them not to come as it was a Great medician day with us. we enjoyed a merry crist-mas dureing the day & evening untill nine oClock—all in peace & quietness.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> pleasant Seven of our men went up to the Mandan Villages

Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> cloudy Some Snow we went about laying a flower [floor] in the Intrepeters room & finishing the blacksmiths Shop & C.

Friday 28<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> clear & cold. high wind Some of the Savages visited us.

Saturday 29<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> clear & cold. we finished laying the Intr. flower [interpreter's floor] a Great number of the natives men women & children visited us the whole day as we Got the Blacksmiths Shop fixed they Brought their Squaw axes & kittle to fix and mend for which they Gave us corn & beans Squasshes & C. one man who went out hunting to day killed a woolf & kept it for the tradors who Give as much for a woolf Skin as a Beaver Skin. N. B. an Indian Stole a drawing nife. took it again.

Sunday 30<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> clear & cold this morning. a great number of the Mandans came to Trade with us. they Brought us corn & Beans Squasshes, also a Some of their kind of Bread which they

<sup>1</sup> Gass gives a longer and more detailed account of the day's festivities. The fondness of the men for dancing, particularly on occasions when, as today, the other sex was absent, seems somewhat unusual.

make of pearched corn and beans mixed together & made in round balls. they have a Sweet kind of corn which they Boil considerable of it when it is in the milk & dries it which they keep through the winter Season.

Monday 31<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> a clear & cold morning. three men went up to the 2<sup>nd</sup> village of mandans in order to look in that bottom for timber to make pearogues.

Tuesday 1<sup>st</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1805. cloudy but moderate. we fired a Swivel & drank a Glass. about 9 o.C. 15 of the party went up to the 1<sup>st</sup> village of Mandans to dance as it had been their request. carried with us a fiddle & a Tambereen & a Sounden horn. as we arived at the entrence of the vi<sup>l</sup> we fired one round then the music played. loaded again. then marched to the center of the village [and] fired again. then commenced dancing. a frenchman danced on his head<sup>1</sup> and all danced round him for a Short time then went in to a lodge & danced a while, which pleased them verry much they then brought victules from different lodges & of different kinds of diet, they brought us also a quantity of corn & Some buffalow Robes which they made us a present off. So we danced in different lodges untill late in the afternoon. then a part of the men returned to the fort the remainder Stayed all night in the village—rained a little in the evening

Wednesday 2<sup>nd</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> Snowed fast this morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and the Greater part of the party went up to the 2<sup>nd</sup> village of the mandans a frolicking, after the Same manner as yesterday at the 1<sup>st</sup> village. a number of Indians and Squaws came to the fort from the first village. Brought us corn to pay our blacksmiths for repairing their Squaw axes Bridles & C. the most of the men returned toward evening & S<sup>d</sup> that the Indians were much diverted at seeing them dance. they used them verry friendly & C.

Thursday 3<sup>rd</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1805. Snowed this morning, Several men went out hunting this morning as the Savages Informed us that the Buffalow were comming in towards the River, but they went out first with their horses first & Scared them off after killing five of them. one of our party killed a woolf they s<sup>d</sup> Saw a number of buffalow. & killed one old Bull.

Friday 4<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1805. Cloudy, warm morning. Several men went down the River a hunting. the afternoon blustry. Some of the hunters returned had killed one buffalow calf & one woolf.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Rivet, whose unique accomplishment was noted by Ordway on November 27. Coues relates that this statement "startled" Biddle, and suggests, by way of explanation, that the Frenchman danced on his hands, head downward.

Saturday 5<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1805. high blustry winds all last night & verry cold three of our hunters Stayed out all night. A cold morning. one of the hunters Set a trap last night & caught a large Grey woolf.

Sunday 6<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1805. a clear cold morning. the wind high & blustry. Bratton caught a fox in a Steel trap where it had [gnawed] a hole through the pickets. it had frequently come through in to the Garrison after bones where we divided meat.

Monday 7<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> a clear cold morning the wind high from N. W. in the evening the three men returned who had been down the River a hunting. had killed one wolf which they eat as they had nothing else with them. they killed also 2 Deer and one buffalo. but had Suffered considerable with the cold.

Tuesday 8<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> I went up to the village the wind blew cold from N. W.

Wednesday 9<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> Some Snow this morning Squally the after part of the day blustry and exceeding cold a nomber of the Savages out hunting the Buffalo & came in towards evening with their horses loaded with meat and told us that two of their young men was froze to death in the prarie [and] that Several of the natives were missing. 2 of our party went out a hunting this morning; they got parted from each other & one of them returned in the evening. had Suffered considerable with the cold. we expected nothing else but the other man had froze or would freeze this night. a young Indian came in the Garrison with his feet frost bit. Several of the Savages Stayed in the fort all night.

Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> a clear cold morning. five men got ready to go to hunt for the man who Stayed out all night, but before they Started he came in & s<sup>d</sup> he had a fire & was tollarable comfortable. directly after a young Indian came in to the fort with his feet froze verry bad. it is the Same Boy that the Indians had left last night & expected that he was froze to death in the praries. we kept him in the fort and our officers took the Greatest care of him possible. three men went a hunting to Stay out Several days.

Friday 11<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> clear cold morning. nothing extraordinary accured.

Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> cloudy 2 of the hunters came in had killed 3 Elk 4 men Sent after the meat & got it.

Sunday 13<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> a clear cold morning. 2 men went last evening a hunting. the Savages visit us as meat is Scarce among them

they Intrude on us and we use them as well as possible. M<sup>r</sup> Sharbinow arived in the evening with the horses loaded with Grees fat meat & C.

Monday 14<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> Serg<sup>t</sup> & 5 men went out hunting this morning to Stay out Several days. G. Shannon came in this evening and informed us that Whitehouse had his feet frost bit & could not come in without a horse Shannon & Collins killed a buffaloe Bull a wolf and 2 porkapines & a white hair.

Tuesday 15<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> a warm pleasant day. Shannon Sent with the horses down to the hunters. about 2 oClock Several of the Grovantars chiefs came to See us. the weather is thoughy so that the Snow melts off the huts & C.

Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> cloudy & warm Several of the Savages came to the Fort their Squaws loaded with corn for to pay us for Blacksmiths work & C. three men returned from hunting with the horses, but brought no meat. Some of the Snake Indians Stayed with [us] all night.

Thursday 17<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> a clear cold morning. the wind high from the N. W.

Friday 18<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> Moderate weather. in the afternoon 2 of the Tradors<sup>1</sup> from the N. W. Comp<sup>y</sup> came to the Garrison from the Grossvanners villages in the evening two of the hunters came in brought with them 4 wolf Skins which they had caught in Steel traps they killed a braro also. a large wolf took off one of their traps. they tracked it Some distance but could not find it. they Informed us that Serg<sup>t</sup> pryors hunting party had killed 3 Elk 4 Deer & 2 porkipines.

Saturday 19<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> cloudy. 2 men Set off with the horses to Go down the River to Bring home the meat ab<sup>t</sup> 30 m<sup>l</sup> a<sup>b</sup> this place.

<sup>1</sup> François Larocque, whose description of Fort Mandan is quoted *ante*, 173, note 1, and Charles McKenzie. Larocque was a clerk employed by the North West Company at Fort Assiniboine, from which place he led the present expedition, composed of four voyagers, in addition to McKenzie and himself, to the Mandan towns of the upper Missouri. From June to October, 1805, he was engaged on a tour to the Rocky Mountains. The journal he kept on this expedition, edited by L. J. Burpee, was printed by the Canadian government in 1910, as No. 3 of the *Publications of the Canadian Archives*. Dissatisfied with the life led in the Indian trade he left the Northwest and established himself in business at Montreal. A granddaughter became the wife of Aldéric Ouimet, speaker of the House of Commons.

McKenzie continued in the Indian trade throughout his active life. In 1806 Alexander Henry found him again on the upper Missouri, at the chief Grosventre village. In 1821 he joined the Hudson's Bay Company, and continued in its service until 1846. He died in 1854.

Sunday 20<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> a pleasant morning the natives bring us considerable corn.

Monday 21<sup>st</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> moderate weather the hunters all came in had killed 3 Elk 4 Deer & one fox two porcupine & a hare. they Brought in three horse loads of the Meat. the Savages bring considerable Corn to day, to pay for their Black Smiths work. 2 men went up to the Grossvarntars village to trade Some wooll Skins with the N. W. Comp<sup>y</sup> Traders for Tobacco. they Got 3 feet of twist tobacco for each Skin.

Tuesday 22<sup>nd</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> a pleasant morning. all hands Employed at cutting away the Ice from round the Barge & pearogues. they Soon cut through the Ice in places. the water Gushed over where they had cut so that they had to quit cutting with axes.

Wednesday 23<sup>rd</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> Snowey this morning. 2 men employed making hand Sleds for the Savages for which they Gave us corn & beans.

Thursday 24<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> colder this morning than it has been for Several days past. in the afternoon five men employed cutting coal wood as our coal was just Gone.

Friday 25<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> clear & cold this morning. the men generally employed at cutting and Splitting coal wood & Setting up the pit & C.

Saturday 26<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> Cloudy & warm the wind from the South. the party at work Same as yesterday. the Savages brought us considerable corn this day.

Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1805. Cloudy. Some men employed Gitting hay from the prarie forts to cover the coal kill.

Monday 28<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1805. Clear and cold. all hands employed cutting the Ice from round the Barge. Got large prizes [pries] & attempted to Shake hir loose but found considerable more cutting or other means [necessary].

Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1805. Clear & pleasant all hands employed halling Stone on hand Sleds from a Bluff below in order to heat a large number of Sizeable Stone & put warter in to the pearogues & barge & make the water hot with the Stone So as to git them loose but come to heat the Stone they flew in peaces as soon as they Got hot, So that we could not make use of them at all.

Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1805. Some cloudy. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass Sent up the River to an other bluff in order to look for another kind of Stone that would not Split with heat he brought one home & het

it found it was the Same kind of the other as soon as it was hot it bursted asunder So we Gave up that plan.

Thursday 31<sup>st</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1805. Snowed the greater part of last night. the wind high from N. W. the Snow flew five men went out a hunting took two horses with them.

Friday 1<sup>st</sup> day of Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. clear & cold. one man went out a Short distance to hunt and killed a Deer the hunters who went out yesterday returned the weather being bad they killed nothing.

Saturday 2<sup>nd</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. a clear morning. my hat got burnt exedantly [accidentally] this morning the river raiseing one of the hunters went out a Short distance from the Fort and killed a Deer & packed it in.

Sunday 3<sup>rd</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. clear & cold. Some men went out a Short distance to hunt the Game is Scarce. they Shortly returned without killing any thing.

Monday 4<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. clear and pleasant. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 14 men of the party & 2 frenchman Set off this morning with 2 horses and 2 Sleds in order to Go a considerable distance down the River a hunting<sup>1</sup> Shields went out a Short time in this bottom and killed two Deer.

Tuesday 5<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. the morning clear. the River Riseing So that the water Spreads over the Ice in Sundry places near this. the Coal being ready for the blacksmith to work the Savages bring corn to have their war axes made & to get Scrapers to dress their buffaloe Robes with & C.

Wednesday 6<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. clear and pleasant the Savages trouble us verry much.<sup>2</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis took his observations. Shields went out towards evening to hunt & killed 3 Goats which we brought in and eat the meat.

Thursday 7. Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. pleasant & warm. the Savages continue comming to see us and to get blacksmiths work done & C.

Friday 8<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. moderate weather. we hear nothing of our hunting party yet.

Saturday 9<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. Some cloudy, the water which run over the Ice in the River has froze Smoth. the Squaws from the 1<sup>st</sup> village are cutting their lodge timber on the opposite Side of

<sup>1</sup> The trip lasted until February 12. Gass was a member of the party, and his journal summarizes its experiences.

<sup>2</sup> By their inquisitive friendliness, apparently. "they usually pester us with their good company the ballance of the day after once being introduced to our apartment." Lewis.

the River from the Fort, So as to hale it up to the village on the Ice.

Sunday 10<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. high wind from N. W. Squawly flights of Snow. an Instance happned last evening a little Singular one of our men returning from the Mandans village 2 or 3 young Indians followed him the Gate being Shut in Stead of calling to the Guard he went round back of the Fort and Scaled over. one of the Indians followed him over. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis ordered the Indian away after Giving him a Scolding at the Same time telling him that he was not so much to blame as the white man Setting the example, & Gave him a piece of tobacco & Started him & confined the man for Setting Such a pernicious example to the Savages. to day at 12 oClock he was tried by a court martial. towards evening M<sup>r</sup> Sharboner a frenchman who had been with the hunting party returned to the Fort and Informed us that he left 3 horses loaded with meat about 8 mls down the River. the Ice being Smoth the horses could not Go on Ice with out Shoes. he Informed us also that the hunting party had killed 13 Elk 33 Deer & 3 buffaloe, one of the hunters killed 2 deer at one Shot at Sunset the proceedings of The court martial came out the prisoner was Sentenced 50 lashes & laid to the mercy of the commanding officer who was pleased to forgive him the punishment awarded by the court.

Monday 11<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. 6 men Sent down the River with 2 hand Sleds to bring up the 3 horse loads of meat, So that the horses might come by land to be Shod. the day clear but cold.<sup>1</sup>

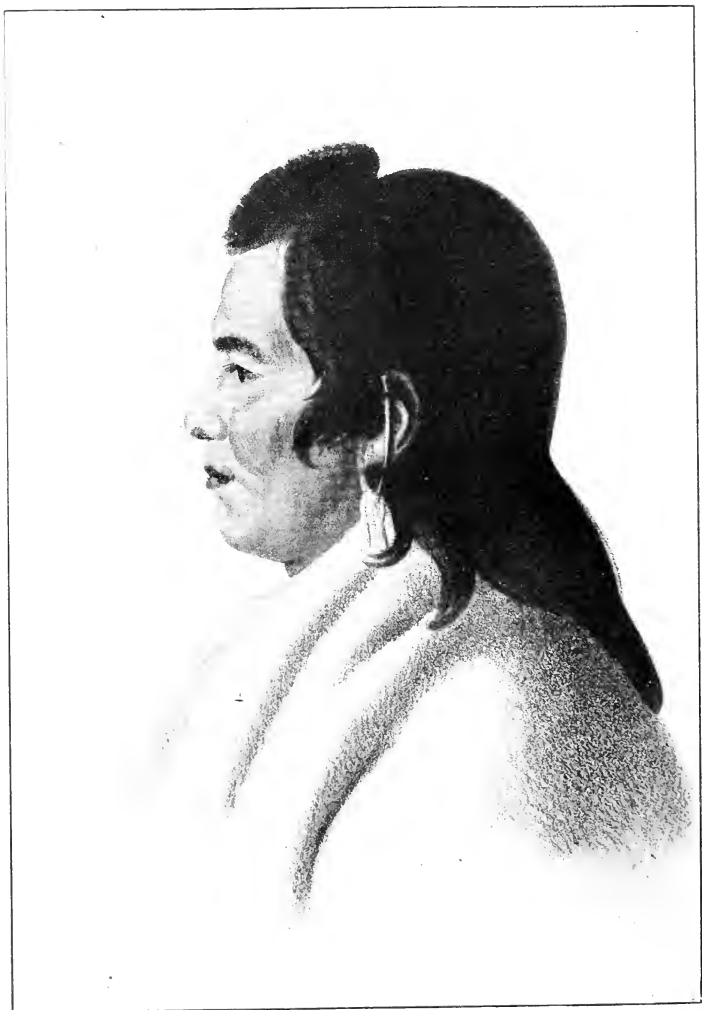
Tuesday 12<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. a clear morning ab<sup>t</sup> 2 oClock the 6 men returned with the 3 horse loads of meat. the horses came by way of the praries. the blacksmith employed in Shewing 3 of the horses, So as we might send them down to the hunting camp on the Ice for meat, the lower camp is about 50 m<sup>ls</sup> from this place, late in the evening Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark returned with all the hunting party they informed us that they had built pens & put the meat up Safe from the wolves, they had fleeced the Greater part of it & picked the bones.

Wednesday 13<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. 2 men sent 18 m<sup>ls</sup> down the River to butcher an Elk which the hunters killed yesterday and to hunt, Snow the later part of the day. the 2 men returned had dressed the elk but killed nothing.

<sup>1</sup> An interesting occurrence of this day was the birth of a son to Sacajawea. "This little volunteer recruit," says Coues, "joined the expedition, and was brought back safe from the Pacific coast by one of the best of mothers."







SHEHEKE, OR BIG WHITE

From McKenney and Hall's *Indian Tribes of North America*

Thursday 14<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. Snowed the Greater part of last night. 4 men Set out eairly with three horses and 2 Sleds in order to bring up a load of meat from the hunting camp. the day pleasant.

Friday 15<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. about 2 OClock last night the 4 men who [were] dispatched yesterday returned and informed us that they were Stopped about 25 m<sup>ls</sup> down the River by about 105 of the Souix Savages, they emediately Seized the horses cut of[f] the collars (hooping and yelling) jurked the halters from one to another through Several hands. then they jumped on two of them and rode off[f] uppon the run, our men with much difficulty kept the Gray mare which had a coalt at the Fort. one of the horses which they took was a fine large Gilding which belong[s] to one of the N. W. Comp<sup>y</sup> tradors by the name of Mackinzie. the other was a publick horse as soon as we was informed of this Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and 20 odd of the party vollunterily [volunteered] to go and fight. Sent word up to the 1<sup>st</sup> village to See if they would turn out the head chief & a number of warries came emediately to the Fort. we Got ready to Start directly but did not set out untill after Sunrise I then Set out with Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and 20 odd more of the party. Several warries of the Mandans Set out with us but their was only 3 or 4 remained with us the whole day. we walked about 18 m<sup>ls</sup> and halted. Got Some meat that our hunters had left hanging upon a tree & boiled & eat Some then proceeded on to the place where the horses was taken. we found a Sled their which they had cut the horse out of. found also a number pair of moccasons at their camp. we took the Sled and proceeded on their trale untill late in the evening. we then arived at 2 old Indian lodges which we Some expected to find them their we sent in a Spy but found none so we went to the lodges and Slept all night Some of the mens feet were sore walking 30 odd mls on the Ice to day.

Saturday 16<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. a clear cold morning one of our men got lame and turned back. the Indians all returned also, we proceeded on about 6 m<sup>ls</sup> to where their was Some lodges where M<sup>r</sup> Gravelleens men was Robed last fall by some of the Mandanes. when we came in Site we Saw a Smoak which we expected that they were all their waiting for another oppertunity to S[t]eel more horses or to attack us. we then went up the bank of the river a considerable distance above the place in to the bushes. left the horse, sled & baggage [and] even our blankets. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Sent

a Serg<sup>t</sup> with a part of the men a little back from the River with orders to advance immediately after hearing the horn Sound which would be the Signal for us to fire in case of an attack. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis went with the rest of the party down the bank of the River untill we came to the lodges, where we found that they had left [the] place 24 hours before that. & had set 2 of the largest lodges on fire which caused the Smoak. I then Sounded the horn [and] the other party came up, we found they had tore down the meat pen which our men had built & left 2 Elk in it. they took the meat all away, except a few small peaces of buffalow meat which they left in the small lodge which they broiled. we found that they had left the River here and took up a steep bluff in to the praries we concluded not to follow them any further, but to turn in to hunting. Some proceeded on down the River 4 men went down this bottom to hunt. we marched about 10 miles and camped at the upper end of a bottom on S.S. the hunters came up one of them had killed a Deer which he brought in with him 2 or 3 men of the hunters went out towards evening. one of them killed a deer & a wolf.

Sunday 17<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. al hands able to walk went out to hunt in different directions. aiming to drive the Game in to the bottom of wood as much as possible So that the best hunters who was in the bottom might kill them. they all returned in the evening had killed 10 deer and 4 Elk. packed Some of them in hung up the remainder on trees so as to keep the wolves from it.

Monday 18<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. clear and pleasant. Several of the hunters went our eairly a hunting. the remainder moved the camp about 5 m<sup>ls</sup> down the River to a bottom where cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks party had some time before been a hunting, and had made a pen and put up 2 Elk and 11 Deer which we found Safe as they left it. Several men out packing in the meat which was killed yesterday we fixed our camp at an old Indian cabbin near the meat pen. the hunters came in had killed one Elk. & Seven deer we got the meat all packed in, Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis concluded that we would Start for the Fort the next morning. we fleased the meat from the bones and eat the marrow out of them.

Tuesday 19<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. a clear pleasant morning. 4 hunters sent on eairly to hunt through the bottom as [we] were Going home. we made ready and loaded the two Sleds with meat the Smallest drawn by the Gray horse. the other drawn by 15 of the party on the Ice loaded heavy. about 9 oClock we Set off & pro-

ceeded on verry well a few miles saw a Deer hanging up at the edge of the River which the hunters had killed. we took it on the sled and proceeded on about 8 miles halted took dinner on a broiled Deer, went on about 4 miles further and camped at a timbered bottom s. side where the hunters joined us had killed in all Six Deer & one Elk which we got them all.

Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. a clear & pleasant morning. the hunters went on eairly we delayed a Short time to let them git on a head. we then set out and proceeded on verry well about 10 miles & halted broiled & eat Some meat & proceeded on a Short distance & took on 3 deer which the hunters had killed and halled on the Ice. we came about 8 miles further which took us above the Mandans Island as we call it. we heard the hunters Shooting on the S. Side. we camped on the South Side the hunters came in had killed five Elk we packed in three of them and night came on so that the hunters could not find the other 2.

Thursday 21<sup>st</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. clear and pleasant. two hunters Stayed to find and take care of the meat 2 Elk which was left in the woods, and to hunt Some. we Set off eairly and proceeded on verry fast. the Snow and Ice thoughted on the River considerable So that it was wet & Slopy halling the Sled. we pushed on and arived at the Fort before Sunset with all our meat and Skins & C. the men generally fatigued halling a heavy load<sup>1</sup> 21 miles on the hard Ice & Snow in places which made the Sleds run hard except where the Ice was Smoth under it.

Friday 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. rained a short time and turned to snow. Snowed a Short time and cleared off, the men came home last night rested today after a hard fatigue but the men who had remained at the Fort was employed clearing away the Snow from round the Barge and perogues.

Saturday 23<sup>rd</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. a pleasant morning. all the party employed cutting the Ice away from round the 2 perogues. towards evening by hard cutting with the water up within an Inch of filling it. Started it loose with pryzes and pulled it out on the Ice & turned on its side. loosed the Ice from round the other.

Sunday 24<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. a beautiful morning. all hands employed cutting away the Ice from round the Barge. found that the Ice was verry thick clear under hir. we worked hard the water came up in places untill it Got all round hir. towards evening we Got large prizes and put under hir and with much adieu

<sup>1</sup> It weighed 2,400 pounds. Clark.

we Got hir started loose and hoisted hir Stern up on the Ice found She had a Small leak where the corking worked out as She came loose. bailed the water out of hir. Got out the perogue also.

Monday 25<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. all hands employed fixing the road and gitting rollers. brought up the peaces for the windless and all things Got ready to hall up the pearogues on the high bank. in the afternoon we halled up the 2 perogues without any difficulty. one of them we halled up without the help of the windless. we then made an attempt at the Barge but our Rope which was made of elk Skin broke Several times. we mended it [and] got hir cleverly Started. night came on and obledg<sup>d</sup> us to leave hir laying on the Skids.

Tuesday 26<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. a pleasant morning. all hands employed Gitting more Timber to raise the Barge. doubled the Rope & raised up the Barge. Got the windless Going. Got hir Started again and moved hir a little at a time untill with much difficulty Got hir Safe up on the upper bank, and left hir laying beside the pickets, without being Injured as perseveable.

Wednesday 27<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. a beautiful pleasant Morning. we fixed Skids under the Barge So as to have hir lay Safe without takeing any Injury. moved the 2 perogues along the N. Side of the line of huts So as to keep the Sun from cracking them. 16 men Got their tools in order to make 4 perogues 4 men destined to make each perogue. the commanding officers mean to leave the Barge here in the Spring, and go on with 5 perogues one old one as they will be much better to go from this place to the head of the Missouri.

Thursday 28<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805. about 3 oClock M<sup>r</sup> Gravelleen and M<sup>r</sup> Roie 2 frenchman came up from the Rickarees 2 of the R. Ree Indians came with them they all Informed us that they Saw the Souix Savvages who Robed our men of the 2 horses, & they said their was 106 in nomber and that they had a mind for to kill our men & that they held a counsel over them whether to kill them and take their arms and all or not. but while they were doing that our men were off and got clear, but they Say if they can catch any more of us they will kill us for they think that we are bad medicine and say that we must be killed. M<sup>r</sup> Tabbo a frenchman who is among them & RickaRees trading, Sent a letter up to the commanding officers & Mandans chiefs to keep a good lookout for he had heard the Souix Say that they Should Shurely

come to war in the Spring against us and Mandanes. in the evening the men returned who had been cutting trees to day for the perogues. they said they had several good trees cut, but had Broke Several of their axes.

Friday 1<sup>st</sup> March 1805. cloudy & warm this morning. the perogue men got their axes repaired and drew two days provisions and went up to camp out near their work untill they Git it done or Git the 4 perogues completed.<sup>1</sup>

#### Journal continued

Friday 1<sup>st</sup> March 1805. cloudy & warm this morning. the work hands got their axes repaired and drew 2 days provisions and went up to camp by their work untill they have the 4 perogues completed. the after part of the day clear and pleasant.

Saturday 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1805. a beautiful pleasant morning. the Savages continue to visit us in Order to git their Impliments of War made. they bring us in pay corn and beans dried meat & persimblans & C.

Sunday 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1805. clear & pleasant. Some men employed making coal, and Some makeing toing lines for the perogues. Some men who are making perogues came to the Fort for provisions. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup> chief of the 2<sup>nd</sup> village came to visit our officers. A nomber others came with corn & C.

Monday 4<sup>th</sup> March 1805. the wind high from the N. W. a nomber of the Savages bring us dried meat and corn. The day pleasant.

Tuesday 5<sup>th</sup> March 1805. clear and pleasant. the men at work making coal & C. a light Squawl of Snow fell about 4 oClock this morning. nothing extraordinary.

Wednesday 6<sup>th</sup> March 1805. moderate weather. the wind from N. E. Several of the Grossvantars Savages Stayed with us last night. a nomber of the Mandanes came this morning with corn. the Water has run over the Ice So that it is difficult crossing the river.

Thursday 7<sup>th</sup> March 1805. clear but Some colder than it has been for Several days past. Some of the perogue men who came to the Fort last night for provisions returned back this morning. two men went up to the villages to day.

<sup>1</sup> Clark states concisely the various activities being carried on in the little camp; "a fine Day I am ingaged in Copying a Map, men building perogus, making Ropes, Burning Coal, Hanging up meat & making battle axes for Corn."

Friday 8<sup>th</sup> March 1805. Some cloudy & cold. a number of the Savages continue bringing corn and fat dried buffaloe meat for to Git Blacksmiths work done.

Saturday 9<sup>th</sup> March 1805. the wind high from the N. W. cold. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went up to the perogue party for to See the perogues. a number of the Savages called the Big Belleys, chiefs<sup>1</sup> came to the Fort to See the commanding officers Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Shewed them the air Gun quadron [quadrant] & Spy Glass & C. which they thought was Great Medicines.

Sunday 10<sup>th</sup> March 1805. a number of the Grossvantars called the bigbelleys Stayed with us all last night. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Gave a chief a Meddel, and Some Small presents. The day clear and cold high winds.

Monday 11<sup>th</sup> March 1805. clear Moderate weather. The head chief of the Water Souix Stayed in the Fort last night. one of the perogue party who came in last night returned with provisions this morning had orders for two more perogues to be made.

Tuesday 12<sup>th</sup> March 1805. a little Snow last night. a clear cold morning. the River raiseing fast two men of the party went up to the Grossvantars Village in order to Git Some tobacco from the tradors.

Wednesday 13<sup>th</sup> March 1805. clear and cold the wind high from the South. M<sup>r</sup> Larouck one of the N. W. Comp<sup>y</sup> tradors came to See our officers & C.

Thursday 14<sup>th</sup> March 1805. clear & warm. M<sup>r</sup> Sharbono a frenchman who we expected would go with us has lately too[k] another notion and has pitched a lodge outside of the Garrison and moved out.<sup>2</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Gravelleen has joined in his place.

Friday 15<sup>th</sup> March 1805. clear pleasant and warm. all the Indian goods put out to air. Some men employed Shelling corn.

Saturday 16<sup>th</sup> March 1805. cloudy and warm. two men employed halling corn. the wind high from the East. looklikely forrain.

<sup>1</sup> The principal man among the visitors was Le Borgne, or One Eyed. He was a man of gigantic size, and enjoyed a reputation for villainy comparable to his physical stature. For tales of his misdeeds see *Early Western Travels*, V, 161-62, and Coues, I, 244.

<sup>2</sup> Clark's journal entries for March 11 and 12 give the particulars of the disagreement with Charbonneau. Having "every reason to believe" that he had been corrupted by the traders of the North West Company, the captains gave him until the following day to determine whether he would go with the expedition on the terms which had been verbally agreed upon. Charbonneau chose to demand new and, as the captains thought, inadmissible terms, and they accordingly suffered him "to be off with the engagement."



Sunday 17<sup>th</sup> March 1805. clear and pleasant. all the Indian Goods put out to air also the parched Meal. M<sup>r</sup> Sharbonow began to move his baggage across the river in order to Go up to the Grossvantars to live. had Got the most of his things across the River he concluded and agreed to Go with us. then moved his effects back to the Fort, & pitched a lodge near the Fort. the wind high from the West. Warner has lost his Tommahawk, expect the Indians Stole it.

Monday 18<sup>th</sup> March 1805. Cloudy. 2 men came down from the perogues for provisions. 2 men went up to Grossvantars. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went to packing up the Indian Goods. 2 men with him.

Tuesday 19<sup>th</sup> March 1805. cloudy a light Squawl of Snow. cold air. about 10 oClock Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass came down to the Fort and informed us that the perogues were finished, and more men wanting to draw them to the River which is about one mile & a half.

Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> March 1805. a cloudy cool morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and Six men went up to help draw the perogues to the River Missouris. the after part of the day pleasant.

Thursday 21<sup>st</sup> March 1805. Cloudy. the wind from the S. E. about 2 oClock Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 4 men returned from the perogues. had carried them all to the River and left three men with them to cork and take care of them. a little Snow fell the after part of the day.

Friday 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1805. a clear pleasant morning. the wind from the S. E. Savages continue to bring us Some corn a number of the Grossvantars Savages came to visit our officers with M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup>Kinzey & M<sup>r</sup> Larouck. our Captains made a chief & Gave him a meddel and an artillery coat a Shirt knife & C. Rives took home his perogue.

Saturday 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1805. clear and pleasant. about 10 oClock the Grossvantars who Stayed in the Fort last night returned home. rained a little the latter part of the day.

Sunday 24<sup>th</sup> March 1805. cloudy. 6 men sent up to take the perogues down to the Fort, but they returned about noon without them as they were not corked nor made ready. two men making cages for the Magpyes and the prarie hens which is to be Sent down the River.

Monday 25<sup>th</sup> March 1805. clear and pleasant. 2 men Set at making a Stearing oar for the Big Barge & C. others Shelling corn & C.

Tuesday 26<sup>th</sup> March 1805. clear and pleasant. Several men went for the perogues. about 2 o'clock they returned with the perogues, but before they had landed the Ice Started So that we had to draw them out with Speed we halled 4 of them had not Got down to the Fort but they took them on Shore So that [they] took no Injury. all hands turned out and took them on the Bank of the River and carried one down to the Fort. the Ice Stopped and jamed up. Started Several times but Stopped entirely before night.

Wednesday 27<sup>th</sup> March 1805. clear and pleasant. we brought all the perogues down to the Fort and went at preparing them and Gitting every thing ready to Set out on our voyage. the Ice kept Breaking and Starting the Most of the day.

Thursday 28<sup>th</sup> March 1805. The Ice run in the River all last night. a pleasant morning. The Ice continues to run. the party employed fixing their perogues oars and poles, So that we may be ready to set out as Soon as the Ice is done running.

Friday 29<sup>th</sup> March 1805. clear and pleasant. the River fell 22 Inches in 22 hours. we continue gitting ready to Start up the River.

Saturday 30<sup>th</sup> March 1805. clear and pleasant The [river] raised 10 Inches last night. the Ice runs thick in the R. to day. The Indians Goods all put out to air. The Big Barge corked & Got ready to descend the Missouris.

Sunday 31<sup>st</sup> March 1805. cloudy. rained Some at three oclock this morning. the Ice does not run So thick in the River as it did yesterday.

Monday April 1<sup>st</sup> 1805. Cloudy. thunder and large hail, hard rain followed about half an hour then the party turned out and put the Barge and the 8 perogues in to the River commenced raining again at 4 o'clock P. M. and continued raining untill 12 o'clock at night.

Monday 1<sup>st</sup> April 1805. Thunder and hail & hard rain about 8 o'clock this morning for about an hour. the party then turned out and put the Big Barge and the 8 perogues in to the River. began to rain again about 4 o'clock. P. M. rained untill 12 o. C. at night & ceased.

Tuesday 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1805. cloudy & cold. the wind blew high all the later part of last night from the N. W. the later part of the day pleasant.

Wednesday 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1805. clear and pleasant. The articles which was to be Sent back to the States in the Big Barge was packed and boxed up ready to go on board.

Thursday 4<sup>th</sup> April 1805. clear and pleasant. the Indian Goods and bags of corn all put out to air. the articles for S<sup>t</sup> Louis carred on board the barge ready to Set out but the wind blew high from the N. W. so that we did not load the perogues.

Friday 5<sup>th</sup> April 1805. clear and pleasant. we Sorted all our loading and divided a proportion of each sort for each perogue, and loaded all the perogues and got ready for a Start, on our Journey. the wind high from the N. W.

Saturday 6<sup>th</sup> April 1805. clear and pleasant. we took all our Baggage on board the perogues in order to Set off. Some of the Mandans Indians informed us that the RickaRee nation was all comming up to their villages, as they Supposed to Stay and live with them. our officers wished to wait and know their business, as the indians sayed that they were near this on the opposite Side of the River. So our Interpreter one of the party and two frenchmen was Sent across the River in order to go & See if the report was true. the wind gentle from the South.

## CHAPTER VII

### FROM FORT MANDAN TO MARIAS RIVER, APRIL 7— JUNE 2, 1805

Sunday 7<sup>th</sup> April 1805. clear and pleasant. about 9 oclock our Intrepter and them that went with him returned brought with them 4 of the RickaRee Savages. 2 of them Chiefs. they Informed us that only 10 of their nation had come up to the Mandanes villages to treat & Smoak a peace pipe with them &C. they brought a letter from M<sup>r</sup>Tabbo who lives with [the] R.Ree to our officers with news that 3 of the Souix chiefs was going down on the Big barge to see their Great father and that Some of the Rick a Ree chiefs was going also. one of our hunters went out at 11 oclock and killed a deer. we set three of S<sup>d</sup> Rick Rees chiefs across the River. the other one being lame Stayed in order to go down to his nation in the Barge.

About 5 oClock we all went on board fired the Swivel and Set off on our journey.<sup>1</sup> at the Same time the barge Set off for

<sup>1</sup> The reflections of the members of the little party at this juncture, as recorded by Captain Lewis are worthy of notice. "Our vessels consisted," he writes, "of six small canoes, and two large perogues. This little fleet altho' not quite so respectable as those of Columbus or Capt. Cook, were still viewed by us with as much pleasure as those deservedly famed adventurers ever beheld theirs; and I dare say with quite as much anxiety for their safety and preservation. we were now about to penetrate a country at least two thousand miles in width, on which the foot of civilized man had never trodden; the good or evil it had in store for us was for experiment yet to determine, and these little vessells contained every article by which we were to expect to subsist or defend ourselves. however, as the state of mind in which we are, generally gives the colouring to events, when the imagination is suffered to wander into futurity, the picture which now presented itself to me was a most pleasing one. entertaining as I do, the most confident hope of succeeding in a voyage which had formed a darling project of mine for the last ten years, I could but esteem this moment of my departure as among the most happy of my life. The party are in excellent health and sperits, zealously attached to the enterprise, and anxious to proceed; not a whisper of murmur or discontent to be heard among them, but all act in unison, and with the most perfect harmony."

St Louis 2 frenchmen<sup>1</sup> in a perogue in company with them. they took down the letters and all the writings which was necessary to go back to the States also Some curious animals such as Goat Skins & horns, a barking Squerrell Some Mountain Rams horns a prarie hen & badgers Some birds cauled magpies & a number of other curious things too tedious to mention &C. we took with us 2 large perogues and 6 small ones which we had loaded with provisions, Indian Goods, ammuniton &C. we went on verry well with a hard head wind about 4 m<sup>ls</sup> & Camped opposite the 1<sup>st</sup> village of Mandans on N. S. wind high from N. W. the greater part of the night their is 30 of of the party which continues to Go on.<sup>2</sup> their was 10 which went down in the barge, but only two who had engaged for the route.<sup>3</sup>

Monday 8<sup>th</sup> April 1805. clear and cold. we Set off eairly. proceeded on. passed the 2<sup>d</sup> & 3<sup>d</sup> villages of Mandans took breakfast at 2<sup>d</sup> vi<sup>l</sup> the [wind] high from the W. all Saw Some Snow on the N. S. of the hills, and thick Ice on and under the banks of the River. the current Swift. we passed two villages of the Grossvantars or Bigbelleys at the lowermost one comes in a handsom River called Knife River.<sup>4</sup> these 2 vill. are in a

<sup>1</sup> These were Rivet, the man who danced on his head, and his companion Degie, who had attached themselves to the expedition, Oct. 18, 1804, at the mouth of Cannon Ball River.

<sup>2</sup> On the respective number and composition of the two parties now setting forth in opposite directions see the journal entries of Lewis and Clark for April 7, and Coues, I, 253-60, notes 7, 8, and 9. The party which continued the exploration was composed of the two captains, three sergeants (Gass, Pryor, and Ordway), twenty-three privates, two interpreters (Drewyer and Charbonneau), Sacajawea and her infant son, and York, Clark's negro servant. Temporarily the party included also a Mandan Indian, who had agreed to accompany the expedition as far as the Snake nation in order to promote peace between that tribe and his own.

<sup>3</sup> The returning party, in charge of Corporal Warfington, consisted, in addition to the leader, of six private soldiers, Gravelines, who had been engaged as pilot, and two other Frenchmen. Temporarily accompanying it, also, were the two engages, Rivet and Degie, and a lame Arikara who had been granted the privilege of transportation in the boat to his tribal home. The party was to be joined at the Arikara village by Tabeau, the trader, and four hands, making a party of fifteen to descend the river. None of them had originally intended to become permanent members of the exploring expedition with the exception of Newman and Reed, the two men who had been discharged for misconduct.

<sup>4</sup> Knife River, a stream of some importance, flows in a general easterly direction to its junction with the Missouri. Near this point is the town of Stanton, Mercer County.

bottom but little timber. back of which is high open plains which is the Same on the N. S. we halted on a Sand beach on N. S. for the crafts to come up which was behind as we was informed that one of the Small perogues was in danger. cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went back to see what was the matter. they Shortly returned the perogues had evidently filled and every thing in the perogue was wet damaged a keg of powder a bag of buiscuit and a number of other articles. we dined and proceeded on passed an Isl<sup>d</sup> covered with timber on the N. S. high bluffs on the S. S. passed a timbered bottom on the N. S. in which is a Village of the Grossvants in the lower part of the bottom of cottonwood timber. we proceeded 14 m<sup>ls</sup> to day and camped at the bottom N. S.<sup>1</sup> an Indian came from the Mandan nation and joined us to go and Show us the River as he tells us that he has been near the head.

Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup> April 1805. clear and pleasant. a gentle breeze from the South we set off at day light. Sailed on Shortly took in a large Beaver which one of our men had caught in a Trap which he Set last evening. we passed a bottom on the South Side covered with handsome groves of Sizeable cottonwood timber. came about 5 m<sup>ls</sup> & halted [and] took breakfast. then proceeded on passed a Small creek<sup>2</sup> on the N. S. & Rugged Bluffs on each side of the River & C. proceeded on about 1 oClock we passed a Bottom covered with c.w. timber on the S. S. where we Saw a hunting party of the Grossvauntars they assembled on the bank of the River our officers halted and Smoked a Short time with them. went a Short distance further and halted for to take dinner at a bottom covered with small cotton wood on N. S. the wind Shifted in to the West and blew Steady. proceeded on passed handsome bottoms on each Side of the River. Saw Gravelly bars which was the first we Saw on this River. they were round and large. Saw Some on Shore also we Saw a number of wild geese on the River & brants flying over Some ducks. the Musquetoes begin to Suck our blood this afternoon. we camped at the upper end of a bottom on the N. S.<sup>3</sup> after working our crafts 22 miles to day.

<sup>1</sup> Near Hancock, McLean County. Coues.

<sup>2</sup> Called Miry Creek by Lewis. Coues identifies it with modern Snake Creek in McLean County.

<sup>3</sup> "Not far above the present Fort Stevenson." Thwaites. "past the present site of Fort Stevenson." Coues. Probably it was higher up the river than one would infer from Coues's statement. Clark's reckoning makes the camp 15 $\frac{1}{4}$  miles above Miry Creek, while the M. R. C. map shows Fort Steven-

Wednesday 10<sup>th</sup> April 1805. we Set off eairly. a clear and pleasant morning. proceeded on passed a handsome high plain on N. S. and a beautiful bottom covered with c.wood the current Swift. we halted for breakfast at 10 oClock above a falling in Sand bank & a Small willow Island, proceeded on a Short distance further. Saw the track of a verry large white bare. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & G. Drewyer went out out hunting on S. S. in a bottom of timber. bare hills on N. S. we Saw a number of large Eagles which had nested on large cottonwood trees. the wind raised from West. about one oClock we overtook 3 frenchmen who were trapping for beaver on the river.<sup>1</sup> they had Caught 12 beaver in a few days they were fat they Gave us the tails and Some of the meat which eat verry Good; at 2 oClock we halted [and] took dinner. one of our men Shot a bald Eagle. I took the quills to write. proceeded on Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed a prarie hen & joined us. Saw two large Elk in a bottom on S. S. passed round a verry crooked bend in the River, and Camped on a Sand beach on N. S. of the River.<sup>2</sup> about 27 m<sup>ls</sup> to day.

Thursday 11<sup>th</sup> April 1805. clear and pleasant. we Set off at light. one of the party caught a beaver in a trap which he Set last night. the frenchmen killed a Goos & caught one beaver. proceeded on. one of the party went on Shore in the bottom. N. S. came to the crafts at breakfast. had killed & brought in a deer we passed bare barron hills on S. S. & a bottom covered with timber on the N. S. one of the party killed 2 Geese. we halted and dined about 2 oClock at a bottom on the N. S. we had a Gentle breeze from the South So that the large perogues Sailed verrey well. the day verry warm. Some of the men worked naked. only a breech cloth. the River being low we have to waid at Some places. proceeded on verry well about Sunset we Saw a number of Indians on S. S. they had Some horses. we supposed them to be the Grossvauntars who had been up the River to Some other nation after corn. we camped on a hand-

son only six miles above this stream. On this basis of reckoning the camp was about midway between Fort Stevenson and Fort Berthold.

<sup>1</sup> The Frenchmen were from the Mandan villages, and had set out a few days in advance of the exploring expedition, thinking to take advantage of the protection which it afforded against the Assiniboin, who sometimes trapped on the Missouri. Lewis supposes this to have been the first "essay of a beaver hunter of any description on this river"; a supposition the correctness of which may well be doubted.

<sup>2</sup> "very near the subsequent site of Fort Berthold." Coues.

some bottom<sup>1</sup> covered with Strait tall cottonwood timber N. S. came this day 21 Miles.

Friday 12<sup>th</sup> April 1805. a clear pleasant and warm morning we Set off eairly. proceeded on passed high range of hills on the South Side of the River. one of our hunters Shot a verry large beaver which was Swimming in the River. proceeded on about 5 miles which took us till ab<sup>t</sup> 9 oClock we arived at the Mouth of the little River Missourie about 90 m<sup>ls</sup> from the Mandans.<sup>2</sup> we halted in the mouth of this R. for our officers to take observations. this River is 120 yards wide at the mouth, but rapid and muddy like the big Missourie. Several of the hunters went out hunting. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went out a Short distance and killed [a] white rabbit. found wild Inions & C. one of the hunters killed a deer. another killed a bald Eagle. the men all returned but had not killed any thing more. The frenchmen came to us had caught 2 beaver last night. about 3 oClock their came up a Squawl of verry high wind and rain. Some thunder. the wind lasted untill afer Sunset. then clear[ed] up pleasant evening. one of the hunters discovered a fine Spring of water which came from under a high hill on S. S.<sup>3</sup> high mountains back from the River on the S. S. the country in general from the Mandans to this place on the [left] is hilley and broken<sup>4</sup> except in the bot-toms in the bends of the River which is low Smoth & Sandy, covered with cottonwood & Small arsh timber which is all the timber in the country is on the Streams & in the bends of this Missourie the Soil back from the River is tollarable Good but barron plains without timber or water & C.

Saturday 13<sup>th</sup> April 1805. clear pleasant & warm Som of our men caught 2 beaver and one fish last night at Sun rise we Set

<sup>1</sup> In McLean County, about 4½ miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri.

<sup>2</sup> The Little Missouri flows almost due north across the southern half of western North Dakota; it then turns sharply to the east, in which direction it flows to its junction with the Missouri. On the M. R. C. map the mouth of the Little Missouri is shown seventy-seven miles above the site of Fort Mandan.

<sup>3</sup> This discovery was probably deemed noteworthy because of the fact, recorded by Lewis the day before, that the expedition had now arrived in the alkali country. "Many of the springs which flow from the base of the river hills are so strongly impregnated with this substance that the water is extremely unpleasant to the taste and has a purgative effect." Lewis, April 11.

<sup>4</sup> The expedition had been skirting the famous Dakota "Bad Lands," through the heart of which the Little Missouri flows.



off and proceeded on over took the frenchmen who came on yesterday trapping. they had caught Seven beaver last night. a handson timbred bottom on the South Side passed a creek<sup>1</sup> on the N. S. proceeded on under a fine breeze of wind from the South. in the afternoon we Saw three Goats under a Steep bank on N. S. the[y] attempted to git up the bank Several times & C. one of the men Shot at them they then took in to the River & Swam across. Some of the men on s. s. Shot 2 of them. proceeded on passed a high Stoney bank on the S. S. Saw a gang of Elk on a plain near a a bottom of wood on the N. S. Camped [on] the N. S. at a handsome plain.<sup>2</sup> came 22½ miles to day. Saw a Goose nest on a tree one man clomb it found only 1 egg.

From this not consulted. mem.<sup>3</sup>

Sunday 14<sup>th</sup> April 1805. clear & pleasant. we set off eairly. one of our men Set a trap for a beaver last night, & caught a large otter that broke the trap chain & got a way. we Saw where it had dragged it along the beach, but could not find it. proceeded on one man Shot a musk rat which was Swimming in the river. passed a bottom on s. s. Saw a buffaloe feeding in a holler, but we did not Stop to kill it. passed bottoms on each Side of the River covered with c. w. timber. halted about 2 oclock to dine at Some barron hills on the S. S. of the River. Some of the men Saw a gang of buffaloe in the vallies back a little from the river Fraser killed one of them by Shooting [it] sev<sup>l</sup> times (musket) & took the best of the meat on board. the wind gentle from the South. Sailed the most part of the afternoon. passed a creek or Small river on the s s Side about 15 yards wide at the mouth & Several Small runs which run from under verry high rough raged hills which are barron and broken. Some Small ceeder on the sides of S<sup>d</sup> hills. A high mountain back of the hills S. S. Camped on the N. S. of the river in a beautiful bottom covered with thin cottonwood timber came 16 miles to day. camped at a point on

<sup>1</sup> "which we called onion creek from the quantity of wild onions which grow in the plains on its borders." Lewis. It is "Rising Water or Pride Creek" of the M. R. C. map.

<sup>2</sup> In western McLean County about two miles above the mouth of modern Shell Creek.

<sup>3</sup> This entry is written in red ink, by another hand than Ordway's. Presumably it is the notation made by Biddle to indicate the point at which he ceased the use of Ordway's journal. The Biddle narrative thus far amply confirms the editor's statement that he found Ordway "very useful."

N. S.<sup>1</sup> N. B. the above mentioned small River which we passed this afternoon on the S. S. is named after our Int<sup>t</sup> Charbonae river<sup>2</sup> as he has been to the head of it which is further up the Missouri Than any white man has been. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis killed an Elk this evening. an Indian dog came to us this morning & continues along with us.

Monday 15<sup>th</sup> April 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we Set off eairly. proceeded on. Sailed under a fine breeze from the S. E. passed Several runs on each side of the river and handsome bottoms plains hills & vallies &. C. we Saw flocks of Goats on S. S. and Gangs of buffaloe on Sand beachs. Saw a large black bair and 2 white ones on the N. S. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark was near Shooting one of the whites ones.<sup>3</sup> Sailed on one man killed a Goose. came 22 miles this day. the river Shallow only about 8 feet deep in some places. we poled across in one place with a small canoe. pass<sup>d</sup> goat pen creek<sup>4</sup> on N. S. & the river is nearly as wide here as it was at S<sup>t</sup> Charles near its mouth. Camped on a large Sand beach on the South Side of the river.<sup>5</sup>

Tuesday 16<sup>th</sup> April 1805. a clear pleasant morning we Set off eairly as usal. proceeded on the wind gentle from S. E. passed a Sand beach on the N. S. covered with Ice and Snow heaps it lay 4 feet thick where the it [ice] was drove in. When the river broke up. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark walked on Shore on S. S. came to us at breakfast had killed a antilope or Goat. we Saw a gang of buffaloe on a Side hill on the S. S. also a gang of Elk near them. See one Elk in a bottom near where we breakfasted. one of the

<sup>1</sup> According to Clark, 3½ miles above Sunday Island. This name, given by the explorers from the day of the week on which they reached the island, is still retained on the M. R. C. map. The camp was in Mountrail County, a little above the mouth of Indian Creek, and about midway between Shell Creek and Little Knife River.

<sup>2</sup> Probably modern Indian Creek of the M. R. C. map. Coues, who conceived a violent dislike for Charbonneau, could find "nothing on present maps with which to identify it."

<sup>3</sup> The "white ones" were, of course, grizzlies. This is a notable event in the history of the expedition for it marks the first encounter with this dreaded beast. Only two days earlier Lewis had recorded the anxiety of the party to meet some of them, their tracks having been seen in great abundance. This "anxiety," which the bears returned with interest, was soon amply satisfied, and before many weeks we shall find the explorers quite content to leave the grizzly to his own devices.

<sup>4</sup> So named because Clark saw, near its mouth, a pen designed as a trap to catch antelopes. It is modern Little Knife River, in Mountrail County.

<sup>5</sup> In McKenzie County, eight miles above the mouth of Little Knife River.

party by the name of John Colter caught a verry large fat beaver in a Steel trap last night. proceeded on. The trees are puting out Green. the Grass begin to Grow in the bottoms & plains which look beautiful. we Sailed Some with a Southerly blowey wind. the river crooked So that we could not Sail much of the time. Saw Some Scatering Sizeable Stone on the Sides of the hills. halted about 7. oClock to dine at a bottom covered with c. w. timber on the N. S. proceeded on passed Several bottoms and plains on each Side of the river. came 17 miles as the courses was taken but by water the way we came it was about 26. Camped at at a point called Grand point on the South Side.<sup>1</sup> Saw different gangs of Elk S. S.

Wednesday 17<sup>th</sup> April 1805. a clear beautiful morning. we Set off eairly. Some of the men caught 2 beaver and Several Small fish. a fair wind we sailed on Saw large gangs of buffaloe on Side hills s. s. proceeded on passed a beautiful plain on the N. S. passed Several bottoms on each Side of the River. ab<sup>t</sup> 1 oClock we halted to dine Saw a gang of buffaloe Swimming River. one of the hunters killed one Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis killed one large one in a fiew minutes they being poor we took only the tongues of them Saw Several gangs of Elk on each Side of the river. late in the afternoon we saw a gang of buffaloe on S. S. R. Potts killed one of them. passed Several runs in the course of the day. & red hills on each Side and high raged hills which are rough barron broken & Steep. Came 26 miles this day. by Sailing & C. Camped on a large Sand beach s. s. one of the men caught a number of Small cat fish in the river.

Thursday 18<sup>th</sup> April 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we Set off eairly. Some of the men who Set traps for beaver last night they caught only one beaver & that in 2 traps by one hind foot and one fore foot. they [it] belonged to 2 owners. they had Some difference which had the best rite to it. proceeded on a Short distance one of the men killed a goose in the river. the wind from the West. proceeded on passed high hills on each side of the River. Saw a gang of buffaloe on the hills on S. S. and a gang of Elk in a handsom [bottom] covered with c. w. timber on the N. S. one of the men wounded one of them another man killed another goose. The wind Shifted in to the N. W. and blew hard against us. Saw a number of bald Eagles in S<sup>d</sup> bottom

<sup>1</sup> In McKenzie County, probably above the mouth of Beaver Creek. White Earth River, in Mountrail County, was passed during the day.

one of them had a nest in a low tree one of the men clumb up and got 2 Eggs (all there was.) The wind rose so high that we could not go with the canoes without filling them with water. detained us about 3 hours. one man killed another goose Scannon b. out.<sup>1</sup> we then proceeded on. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark who walked on Shore killed one Elk and one deer which we halted & took them on board. came about 15 miles to day and camped at a bottom covered with cottonwood and arsh Elm also timber on N. S. the river has been verry crooked and bearing towards the South the most of the day. the Game is gitting pleantyier every day.

Friday 19<sup>th</sup> April 1805. Cloudy. the wind blew high from the Northward. So that we were obliged to lay at our last nights harbour all day. caught one large beaver last night the hunters killed one Elk and three Geese & Robed Several of their nests of their eggs. Some of the men caught a quantity of Small cat fish in the river the evening clear blustry & cold. Winds.

Saturday 20<sup>th</sup> April 1805. cloudy. the wind is not so high as it was yesterday this morning. we Set off about 7 oClock. we found it Cold polling. the air chilley. proceeded on. Some of the men caught two beaver in traps which they Set last night. Saw a buffaloe Swim the river close before us but would not Shoot him for he was not fat. the wind rose & blew Same as yesterday So that we could hardly make any head way. halted [and] took breakfast about 10 O. C. 2 of the hunters Shot four beaver directly in the edge of the river. delayed Som time the [wind] abated a little. we proceded on the wind Shortly rose again and blew so hard that the canoes were near filling they took in considerable water. the Sand blew off the Sand bars & beaches So that we could hardly See, it was like a thick fogg.<sup>2</sup> it took us about two hours to come about 2½ miles. halted at a bottom on the N. S. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis who walked on Shore this morning killed a deer and hung it up on the bank of the river near an old Indian

<sup>1</sup> Ordway's journal entry for April 26, 1805, indicates that Scannon was Lewis' dog. The meaning of the cryptic statement seems to be, then, that Scannon retrieved the goose.

<sup>2</sup> Sand storms are of frequent occurrence along this portion of the Missouri. Lewis expatiates (journal, July 24) on the annoyance they caused the travelers. The particles of sand are "so fine and light that they are easily supported by the air, and are carried by the wind for many miles, and at a distance exhibiting every appearance of a column of thick smoke." The sand penetrated everything, so that the explorers were compelled to "eat, drink, and breathe it." It even stopped Lewis' watch, notwithstanding "her cases are double and tight."

Camp where he made fire & Eat the liver of the deer, and went on. we took it on board and went up the bottom about 3 miles where we found a good harbour for the perogues to lay out of the wind we halted and dried the things which was Wet, & Camped for the night. we found Some little notions which Some Indian had hung up.<sup>1</sup> Viz. a Scraper a paint bag with  $\frac{1}{2}$  an ounce in it, kinikaneck<sup>2</sup> bags, flints & C. the hunters killed 2 Elk Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis a white tailed deer. one man killed a Goose. Drewyer Shot a beaver. we Saw gangs of Elk running along near our Camp we did not want any more meat or we might have killed a plenty. high Squawls of wind & flights of round Snow this day. we took in Some water in the Canoe I was in. the water came up to my Box So that a part of my paper Got wet.

Sunday 21<sup>st</sup> April 1805. a hard white frost last night. froze water in the buckets setting near the fire. a Clear and pleasant morning, but verry chilly & cold. we proceeded on. Saw the hills and vallies on S. S. covered with buffaloe. Some calfs among them. one of the party clumb a Steep of a tree which had a Goose nest in the top of it found four Eggs in it. passed round the bottom covered with timber which we camped on last night about 10 oC. we halted & took breakfast. proceeded on passed hills and round knobs on S. S. and a large bottom on N. S. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went on the S. S. to hunt. Came to us at dinner. had killed 4 Deer in a bottom covered with Small timber he attempted to kill a buffaloe Calf but could not git near enofe without being discovered by them, the plain being so open. about 3 oClock clouded up cold the wind began to blow as usal. we dined at a redish bluff on N. S. Saw large gang of buffaloe & calfs Elk also on the opposite Shore. delayed about one hour & proceeded on passed the mouth of a large Creek on the N. S. Called White Earth River.<sup>3</sup> it is about 15 yards wide at the mouth & Clear water & gentle current. Camped on the South

<sup>1</sup> Near the corpse of a squaw which had recently been deposited on a scaffold, the customary method in this region of disposing of the dead.

<sup>2</sup> Kinnikinick was the Indian substitute for tobacco. It was made from the leaves and bark of various trees and shrubs, among which may be noted the red bearberry, the silky cornel, and the red-osier dogwood.

<sup>3</sup> Lewis supposes its name to have been given because of the great quantities of alkali salts along its banks, which in many places are so thickly covered as to appear perfectly white. Journal, April 22. He notes that the water is "much clearer than that of the Missouri"; notwithstanding which it bears the modern name of Little Muddy River. It flows through central Williams County, with the town of Williston at its mouth.

Side at a bottom<sup>1</sup> came 15 miles to day. Some of the men killed 2 buffaloe Calfs, & one Elk. We Saw this day 4 other[s] on a drift. Potts shot one of them in head but it Sunk. the rest plunged in to the water and swam down the river, and Drewyer killed & Got one of them. a Cool evening.

Monday 22. April 1805. clear and cold. we set off as usual passed a high bluff on S. S. and a handsom bottom and plains on the N. S. which was covered with buffaloe & buffaloe calfs, Elk deer & C. and large gangs on the opposite Shore I think that we Saw at one view nearly one thousand animals. they are not to day verry wild for we could go within a 100 yards of them in open view of them before they would run off and then they would go but a Short distance before they would Stop and feed again, We delayed about 2 hours & proceeded on. passed bluffs on N. S. where we dined & delayed again on acc<sup>t</sup> of the high wind. aired Some articles which got wet in a small canoe proceeded on with the towing lines. Saw a buffaloe Calf which had fell down the bank & could not git up again. we helped it up the bank and it followed us a Short distance (the river raised 4 Inches last [night] & a white frost) we have seen a great number of dead buffaloe lying on each shore all the way from the little Missourie R. we Suppose that they Got drowned attempting to cross on the Ice last fall before it got Strong. we Camped in a bottom covered with c.w. timber & rabbit berry bushes on the S. S.<sup>2</sup> the beaver has cut down large trees along this bottom. Saw a great number of their houses. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Shot a large one. G. Drewyer went after dark to set his traps & Shot another. N. B. Came only 10 miles today) one man found [and] kill<sup>d</sup> a spotted snake.

Tuesday 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1805. a clear and pleasant morning. we Set off as usual proceeded on. Some of the men caught two beaver last night passed high bluffs on the S. S. and a bottom in a bend on the N. S. the river verry crooked halted and took breakfast on a sand beach s. s. one man Shot a beaver in the willows. another Shot a Goose in the river. proceeded on the wind blew So hard that the large perogues Sailed in a bend where the wind came fair [and] verry high the Small canoes took in Some water. the large perogues Sailed verry fast. [After] a Short distance we were obliged to halt the first Safe place untill

<sup>1</sup> In McKenzie County, two miles above the mouth of Little Muddy River.

<sup>2</sup> In McKenzie County, about one-fourth of the distance from the Little Muddy to the Yellowstone.

the wind abated which was about 3 hours. dried the articles which was wet. towards evening the wind abated and we proceeded on round a point and Camped in a bottom covered with c.w. timber on N. S.<sup>1</sup> came 14½ miles to day. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed to day one buffalo Calf, and three black tailed deer.

Wednesday 24<sup>th</sup> April 1805. Clear and cold. The wind high from the N. W. so that we had to delay here all this day. we dried and aired Some of the loading which had got wet yesterday. Several of the party went out a hunting. they killed Several buffalo Elk deer & C. one of them found Several young wolf pappies and brought them to camp. the wods got on fire.

Thursday 25<sup>th</sup> April 1805. a clear cold morning. the river rose 2 Inches last night. we Set off eairly. The wind blew from the N. one of the men caught a beaver last night. we proceeded on passed high land on N. S. and timbred bottom on S. S. Sailed Some in a bend of the river. came about 12 miles by 12 oClock. the perogues could go no further as the wind blew them a head So that they halted for it to abate on the N. S.<sup>2</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis myself and 3 more of the party crossed over to the S. Shore to go up by land to the Mouth of the river Roshjone or Yellow rock river<sup>3</sup> (for observations) we walked along the high bluffs, Saw a large gang of buffalo in the bottom. we killed one young one and took our dinner of it and proceeded on. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Shot a goose on hir nest we got 6 eggs out of it, towards evening we killed 2 cow buffalo and a calf in a handsom Smoth bottom below the mouth of Yellow Rock River. we Camped on the bank of the yallow R. River, about 2 miles above its mouth. little above the bottom on the Sand beach large & Small cottonwood & arsh in S<sup>d</sup> bottom.

Friday 26<sup>th</sup> April 1805. a Clear pleasant morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Sent one man about 6 miles up the River Roshjone to See what

<sup>1</sup> In Williams County, about halfway from the Little Muddy River to the Yellowstone. The distance between these two points, by Lewis and Clark's calculations, was 46¾ miles, today's camp being 24½ miles beyond the Little Muddy. The M. R. C. map gives forty-one miles as the distance from the latter stream to the Yellowstone.

<sup>2</sup> At five o'clock the party "proceeded on" a short distance and camped for the night in Williams County, eight miles, by Clark's measurements, below the mouth of the Yellowstone.

<sup>3</sup> "Roshjone" is a corruption of the French for Yellowstone. Thwaites states (I, 339) that the name Yellowstone "appears to have been first recorded (1798) by David Thompson, the British explorer."

discoveries he could make.<sup>1</sup> one man killed a Goose another killed a buffaloe cow & calf. Saw a flock of Goats Swimming the river this morning near to our camp. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewises dog Scamon took after them [and] caught one in the River. Drowned & killed it and Swam to Shore with it. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis took an observation at 9 oC. and at 12 oClock, also at 4. he caught Several Small fish in the River Roshjone at 4 the man returned who went up the River this morning he Informed us that he went about 8 miles up it to a large creek which came in on the S. S. & that the bottoms was large and covered with timber. &C. he brought in a live buffaloe calf, which had followed him about 4 miles.<sup>2</sup> we then heard that Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & the party had come at the Mouth of the River Roshjone about 12 oClock to day. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Sent a man down for a perogue to come up for our meat and baggage. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Immediately Sent up a canoe. We moved down to their Camp which was about two miles. our officers Gave out one Gill of ardent Spirits per man. So we made merry fiddled and danced &C.<sup>3</sup> Camped for the night on the point between the 2 Rivers. a handsom place thinly covered with timber & a verry large bottom. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Measured these two Rivers to day and found the Missourie to be 337 yards wide only the water but at high water mark 529 yards wide at this place. the River Roshjone

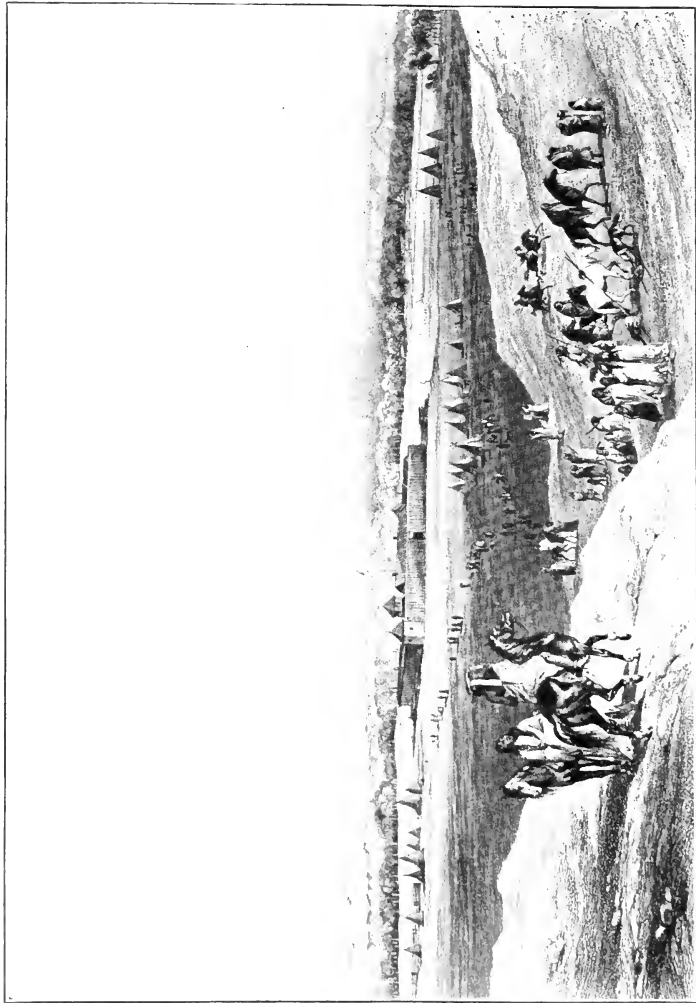
<sup>1</sup> The man was Joseph Fields; the creek he discovered, named for him by Clark, was in western McKenzie County. Coues supposes Fields to have been "the first white man who ever ascended the Yellowstone."

<sup>2</sup> The docility of buffalo calves was well known to frontiersmen, and other incidents similar to this one have been recorded.

<sup>3</sup> Lewis records that on rejoining the main party in the evening he "found them all in good health, and much pleased at having arrived at this long-wished-for spot, and in order to add in some measure to the general pleasure which seemed to pervade our little community, we ordered a dram to be issued to each person; this soon produced the fiddle, and they spent the evening with much hilarity, singing & dancing, and seemed as perfectly to forget their past toils, as they appeared regardless of those to come." The judgment of the explorers concerning the importance of the place they had now reached was confirmed by later events. About the year 1829 the American Fur Company built Fort Union a short distance up the Missouri from the mouth of the Yellowstone. It soon became the most important center of the Company's operations on the upper Missouri. It was the best-built post on the river, and with one possible exception, the best in the entire West. To it succeeded Fort Buford, built by the U. S. government on the Missouri a short distance below the Yellowstone. Today's camp was near the center of the thirty-mile square which later constituted the Fort Buford military reservation. For a description of old Fort Union see H. M. Chittenden, *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902), 958-60.







FORT UNION IN 1834

From Maximilian, Prince of Wied's *Travels*

is 297 y<sup>ds</sup> water, high water mark 858 yards wide. the distance from the mouth of the Missouri to the mouth of the River Roshjone is 1888 miles, from Fort Mandane 279 miles from the little Missouri River 186 miles. the River Roshjone is not quite as rapid as the missourie the men killed to day Several buffaloe & buffaloe calfs the calfs are the best meat we find at this time one man killed a White Swan in a large pond 4 or 5 miles from this, between the two Rivers. this pond the men that Saw it Judged it to be 4 miles long, & 200 y<sup>ds</sup> across, &C. on the River Roshjone and the Missouri the Game is verry pleanty, viz. buffaloe Elk Deer Goats Some bair. pleanty of beaver, fish &C and a beautiful country around in every direction. considerable of timber Such as cottonwood Elm arsh &C. the Latitude at this place is [blank in Ms.] North.

Saturday 27<sup>th</sup> April 1805. a clear and pleasant morning. we aranged our loading in the perogues and Set off about 9 oClock, proceeded on passed a beautiful level plain which lay between the River Missouri & River Roshjone, about 12 oC. the wind rose So high from the N. W. and the Sand flew so thick from the sand bars that we halted about 1 oClock, to wait untill the wind abates, at a bottom of large scatering timber on the N. S. about 4 oClock the wind abated So that we proceeded on till dusk. and Camped at a bottom covered with Small timber on the N. S.<sup>1</sup> came only about 10 miles to day. the current Swift.

Sunday 28<sup>th</sup> April 1805. clear and pleasant. one of the Men caught a large beaver last night. we Set off eairly. the wind had Shifted to S. E. and blew gently So that we Sailed Some part of the time. proceeded on passed high bluffs on N. S. of a whiteish coulour rough hills and knobs on each side. Some Smoth bottoms of cottonwood on each Side of the River. Saw large flocks of Cabberrrie or antilope which is a Species of the Goat kind, on the Sides of the hills on S. S. Saw Some dead on the edge of the river, which I suppose the wolves had killed. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and our Intrepter walked on Shore on the S. S. we proceeded on untill ab<sup>t</sup> 3 oClock. came to where Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark had made a fire. we then halted to dine in a bottom above high bluffs on s. s. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark had killed one Deer & a goose. he Saw Several bair proceeded on towards evening we Saw a large black bair Swimming the River we went on Shore to head him & hopes to kill him.

<sup>1</sup> On the later site of Fort Union; also on, or very near, the boundary between North Dakota and Montana.

one man Shot & wounded it but it ran in to thick bushes So that we could not find it. Some of the party Saw Several more bair on the hills, on S. S. the bluffs make neare the river all this day and are verry Steep in some places & other places high & rough Some of which are White Stone and Clay, others are of a redish coulour, nearly like brick. we Camped in a handsom bottom of c. w. timber on N. S.<sup>1</sup> high steep bluffs on s. s. Came 24 miles this day.

Monday 29<sup>th</sup> April 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we Set off eairly. proceeded on round a bend Saw a bay horse in a beautiful Smooth plain on the N. S. where we Saw a great quantity of wild Hop Growing we Suppose that this horse had Strayed from Some Savages he appeared to be a tollarable Good horse but wild. proceeded on a Short distance. Saw a Mountain Sheep on a high Steep bluff on N. S. which had a lamb with it one man went up the bluff to Shoot them. they took down the bluffs and ran along whare it was nearly Steep where there was a black Stripe in the bluffs he Shot at them but at too Great a distance. they run untill they got round the bluffs and ran in to the prarie. the coulour of the Sheep was white had large crooked horns, & resembled our tame Sheep only much larger Size & horns. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and one hunter who walked on Shore this morning came to us about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 oClock had killed a Whiteish bair<sup>2</sup> what is called the white bair, but is not White but light coulour we delayed untill  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 to git the meat on board. then proceeded on passed high bluffs & bottoms on each Side. Saw large flocks of the Cabberree or antilopes and handsom bottom on s. s. also buffaloe & elk. Saw a number of Mountain Sheep & lambs on a verry high bluffs as nearly like rough mountains Some red ceeder in the hollows & gullies in the Mountains. these Sheep are verry wild, and keep mostly in these bare hills or mountains

<sup>1</sup> In Sheridan County, Mont., about midway between the Yellowstone River and Big Muddy Creek.

<sup>2</sup> This was the first grizzly slain by the party, and accordingly Lewis gives a somewhat detailed description of it. After being wounded it chased Lewis and his companion seventy or eighty yards, when, having reloaded their guns, they succeeded in killing it. Commenting upon the respect in which the Indians held the grizzly bear, Lewis adds, "but in the hands of skillfull riflemen they are by no means as formidable or dangerous as they have been represented." A fuller acquaintance with them prepared him to revise this estimate. Lewis and Clark usually speak of the grizzly as white, although in the first instance they call it "brown or yellow." Gass notes, "The natives call them white but they are more of a brown grey."

Some of these hills are red Earth resembling Spanish brown, but the most of them are whitish & naked. Some large Stone at the foot of the bluffs, the country back from the river is I believe is barren & no timber & Good for nothing but Game. proceeded on passed a large timber bottom on the S. S. Camped after dark at the Mouth of a Small river which came in on the N. S. at a beautiful Smooth plain. we named it little yellow River.<sup>1</sup> Came 25 miles this day.

Tuesday 30<sup>th</sup> April 1805. clear and pleasant. we Set off early. proceeded on Saw large gangs of buffaloe Swimming the River just before our cannoes & we would not Shoot them as we had meat enofe on board, passed high rough hills on s. s. the wind blew from the N. proceeded on verry well. towards evening, one of the men Shot a verry large beaver & a Goose in the edge of the River. that would have weighed 70 or 80 pounds. it had large young ones in it. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis killed an Elk in a bottom on the N. S. Came 24. miles to day. & Camped on a large Sand beach on the N. Side.<sup>2</sup> Some men went for the meat with Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis. we Sailed a little in the bends of the River this afternoon.

Wednesday 1<sup>st</sup> day of May 1805. a clear pleasant morning, but cold. we Set off at Sun rise. the wind from the East. we Sailed on verry well passed broken bluffs & round knobs on the s. s. and bottoms covr<sup>d</sup> with cottonwood timber on each Side of the River and the hills in general are not so high as they have been below and the country is more pleasant, and the timber is gitting pleantier. about 12 oClock the wind rose So high that the Small canoes could not go on without filling. we halted at a bottom cov<sup>d</sup> with timber on S. S. one of the cannoes lay on the opposite Shore and could not cross the water ran so high. Some men went out in this bottom a hunting & killed one buffaloe one Deer & a Goose & 2 beaver also. the wind continued So high that we delay and Camped for the night.<sup>3</sup> the s<sup>d</sup> canoe lay on the opposite Side all night. came only 10 miles to day.

Thursday 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1805. at day light it began Snowing & continued Snowing & blowing so that we did not Set off. Some of

<sup>1</sup> Clark named it Martha's River, "in honor to the Selebrated M. F." It is modern Big Muddy Creek, in Sheridan County.

<sup>2</sup> About midway between Big Muddy Creek and Poplar River, in the vicinity of Brockton, Sheridan County.

<sup>3</sup> In Dawson County, about two-thirds of the way from Big Muddy Creek to Poplar River. Among the day's occurrences Clark notes a minor tragedy. One of the men shot the Indian dog, that had joined the party several days earlier, because "he would steal their cooked provision."

the party went out a hunting. they killed Some buffaloe & deer, & found Several pieces of red cloath at one old Indian camp that attested they left them as a Sacrifice as that is their form of worship, as they have Some knowledge of the Supreme being, and any thing above their comprehension they Call Big Medisine & C. about 3 oClock it left off Snowing. the wind Shifted into to the West. we Set off & proceeded on. the Snow lay on the edge of the Sand bars & Sand beaches where the wind had blew it up one foot deep, but on the hills it was not more than half an Inch deep. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & one of the hunters Shot 3 beaver in the edge of the River s. s. the air & wind verry cold. we Camped at a handsom bottom on the N. S.<sup>1</sup> which is a very large bottom part c. w. timber & part prarie high plains back from the River. Came only ab<sup>t</sup> 5 miles to day.

Friday 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1805. clear but verry cold for May. we Set off about 7 oClock, & proceeded on. Saw the Standing water froze over the Ice froze to oar poles as we poled where the sun Shined on us. a hard white frost last night. the ground covered with Snow. the wind rose high from the W. about one o. C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Came to us where we halted to dine had killed an Elk, as he had been by land Since morning this place where he killed the Elk is in a bottom covered with c. w. timber. we found a goose nest a little below this on some drift wood. we took 3 eggs out of it. one man went along the bank of the River a fiew minutes and killed a beaver. we have Sawn Great Sign of beaver for several days but more this day than usal. the wind verry high & cold. we proceeded on. Saw a number of buffaloe on the ridges and in the plains. passed large bottoms of timber, & plains on each side but no high hills. passed a creek on the s. s. Came 20 miles and Camped in a bottom on the N. S. after dark. had passed a large creek on the N. S. which is two thousand miles from the mouth of the M. 2000 m<sup>ls</sup> creek.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Sheridan County, fifteen miles below the mouth of Poplar River.

<sup>2</sup> Ordway confuses the two streams passed during the day. The north-side stream, to which the name Porcupine River was given, is modern Poplar River. It rises in Saskatchewan and flows across Sheridan County. The south-side stream was given the name Two Thousand Mile Creek, from its supposed distance above the mouth of the Missouri. It is modern Red Water Creek, in Dawson County, joining the Missouri about two miles above the mouth of Poplar River. Today's camp was in Sheridan County, 3½ miles above the mouth of Poplar River. By the M. R. C. map measurements Two Thousand Mile Creek is 1,860 miles above the mouth of the Missouri.

Saturday 4<sup>th</sup> May 1805. clear and moderate this morning. the Snow is all melted off the hills. we delayed Some time to mend the rudder of the red perogue which got broke landing last evening. we set off about 9 oClock and proceeded on passed large bottoms covered with timber on each Side of the River and high Smoth plains back from the River. at 11 oC. we passed the Mouth of a Creek [which] came in on the s. s.<sup>1</sup> proceeded on passed a beautiful large plains on the N. S. Saw buffaloe and Elk passed large bottoms on S. S. and Camped on a bottom of timber on the N. S.<sup>2</sup> Came 22 miles one of the party killed two deer in a few minutes. Came 22 miles today.

Sunday 5<sup>th</sup> May 1805. Clear and pleasant. we set off eairly proceeded on one hunter who stay[ed] on the S. S. all night came to us at breakfast time. had killed two buffaloe Calfs which we took on board. we proceeded on. passed bottoms of timber on each Side. passed a large handsom plains on the N. S. where we saw a great number of buffaloe and white geese. we halted for to dine about 2 o. C. on the S. S. at a bottom of timber where we saw buffaloe and Goats our officers gave the party a half a Gill of ardent Spirits. Jo. Fields who was taken sick yesterday is some worse to day. jest as I went [to] set off with the canoe the bank fell in & all most filled it. we directly took out the Sand & bailed out the water and proceeded on towards evening Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and Several more of the party killed a verry large bair which the natives and the french tradors call white but all of the kind that we have seen is of a light brown only owing to the climate as we suppose. we shot him as he was Swimming the River.<sup>3</sup> the place where he dyed was Shallow or perhaps he would have Sunk to the bottom. with the assistance of Several men was got on board a perogue and took him to the Shore on N. S. and dressed it after taking the measure of him. he was verry old the tushes most wore out as well as his claws. the measure of the brown bair is as follows round the head is 3 feet 5 Inches. do the neck 3 feet 11 Inches do the breast 5 feet 10½ Inches. do the middle of the arm 1 foot 11 Inches. the length from the nose to the extremity of the hind toe is 8 feet 7½ Inches. the length of tallons better than four feet [inches]. we found a cat fish in him which he had eat. we Camped and rendered out about 6 gallons of the greese

<sup>1</sup> Shown on the M. R. C. map as Antelope Creek.

<sup>2</sup> In the vicinity of Chelsea, Sheridan County.

<sup>3</sup> "it was a most tremendous looking animal and extreemly hard to kill." Clark.

of the brown bair. he was judged to weigh about 4 hundred after [being] dressed. one of the party went out and killed an Elk, and Saw another brown bair. we Came 16 miles to day before we killed the brown bair. we Sailed considerable in the course of the day with an East wind.

Monday 6<sup>th</sup> May 1805. pleasant and warm. we set off eairly Sailed on under a gentle breeze from the East. Some of the party caught two beaver last night. we Saw a brown bair Swimming the River before us. Saw beaver looking out of their holes along the bank. we came 16 miles by 2 O. C. then halted to dine Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed an Elk on N. S. in a bottom covred with timber. one man killed a beaver. we proceeded on passed a large Creek or Small River which came in on the S. S. about 200 yards wide named [blank in Ms.]<sup>1</sup> Some Sprinkling rain, but did not last long. proceeded on passed high land on s. s. Smoth plains on N. S. and timbred bottoms on each side. Came 26½ miles in all this day, and Camped on a bottom of Small timber on the S. Side.

Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup> May 1805. clear pleasant and warm. we set off eairly. the wind rose from the East we sailed verry fast untill about 12 o. C. [when] one of the canoes filled with water, but we got it Safe to Shore, and halted for the wind to abate at a bottom on s. s. Some men went out to hunt. two beaver was caught last night by some of the party, & [we] shot five more at this place. about 4 oClock we proceeded on as the wind had abated Some. Saw large gangs of buffaloe on each side of the River. handsom plains on the N. S. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and one hunter walked on Shore on s. s. towards evening they killed 2 buffaloe in a bottom of timber on s. s. where we Camped for the night<sup>2</sup> and dressed the 2 buffaloe. Came 15½ miles this day.

Wednesday 8<sup>th</sup> May 1805. we Set off eairly. it clouded up of a sudden, and rained Some. we Sailed on under a fine breeze from the East. came 20 miles by one oClock, passed the mouth of a

<sup>1</sup> "passed two creeks & a River to day on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side, neither of them discharged any water into the Missouri." Lewis. They were appropriately named "little dry creek," "Big dry creek," and "little dry river." Modern maps show Prairie Creek, Sand Creek, and Elk Prairie Creek in Dawson County, the last named entering the Missouri opposite the western boundary of Sheridan County. Coues supposes Elk Prairie Creek to have been the second of the three streams noted by Lewis. The camp for the day was in Dawson County, 9½ miles above Little Dry River.

<sup>2</sup> In Dawson County, 17½ miles, by the leaders' reckoning, below the mouth of Milk River.



large River on N. S. Called Scolding or named milk River.<sup>1</sup> about 200 yards wide and deep, and 2100 miles from the mouth of the Missouri. we halted in a handsom bottom ab<sup>o</sup> the Mouth of S<sup>d</sup> River to dine. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor killed a Deer. about 2 o. C. we proceeded on passed in the course of this day timbred bottoms on each Side of the river. a little back from the River their is no timber but high beautiful plains on the N. S. and river hills on s. s. Came 27 miles today and Camped in a handsom bottom covred with groves of timber on the s. s.<sup>2</sup> one man Shot a large beaver.

Thursday 9<sup>th</sup> May 1805. Clear and pleasant. we set off about Sun rise and proceeded on passed an Island in the Middle of the River partly cov<sup>d</sup> with Small timber and willows. about 9 oC. we halted to take breakfast in a beautiful Smoth bottom partly covred with timber & on the s. s. where Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark who walked on this morning had killed 2 deer. the Game is gitting so pleanty and tame in this country that Some of the party clubbed them out of their way. about one oClock we passed the Mouth of a river on s. s. named [blank in Ms.]<sup>3</sup> it is at high water mark 220 yards wide, but at this time the water is So low that the water all Sinques in the quick sand we halted to dine above the mouth of this R. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed 2 buffaloe we proceeded on passed large bottoms covred with timber and Smoth plains on N. S. hilley on s. s. Saw large gangs of buffaloe and elk. Saw great Sign of beaver where they had cut the Small timber on the bank of the River for a large peace of Ground all Smoth and carried the most of it way to their lodges. we Came 25 miles to day and Camp at the mouth of a creek named Warners R. on the N. Side<sup>4</sup> the country for Several days back is handsom and pleasant the Soil rich the Game pleanty. but the timber back from the river Scarse & C.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Milk River, the largest northern tributary of the upper Missouri. From its source in the Rocky Mountains it flows in a general easterly direction across the northern part of Montana. Lewis describes its water as "about the colour of a cup of tea with the admixture of a tablespoonfull of milk." Ordway's Scolding River is explained by the fact that the explorers took this to be a stream of which the Minitaree had told them, and which they called "the river which scolds at all others."

<sup>2</sup> In Dawson County, 2½ miles above the mouth of Milk River.

<sup>3</sup> "the most extraordinary river that I ever beheld." Lewis. His amazement was due to the fact that although its bed was half a mile wide it contained not "a single drop of running water." It was accordingly named Big Dry River, and this designation it still retains.

<sup>4</sup> Named for William Werner (or Warner) one of the members of the expedition. The camp was in Valley County, nine miles above the mouth of Big Dry River.

Friday 10<sup>th</sup> May 1805. a clear cold morning. we Set off about Sun rise, and proceeded on about 4 miles. the wind rose So high from the N. W. that [it] obliged us to halt at a bottom covred with timber on S. S. where the beaver had cut & fell a peace of Small timber on the bank. Several of the party went out to hunt. the wind rose verry high. Some Squawls of rain. one man caught a number of fish. the hunters killed a fat buffaloe 4 Beaver & 2 black tailed deer and one white tailed deer. they Saw Several moose deer which was much larger than the common deer and the first we have Seen our officers Inspected the partys arms & ammuntion & C. Camped at this place<sup>1</sup> for the night.

Saturday 11<sup>th</sup> May 1805. a clear cool morning & white frost we Set off eairly. Some of the party caught 2 beaver last night we proceeded on passed black bluffs & hills on the s. s. low ceeder on the hills in places & Spots on each Side of the River. Saw verry large gangs of buffaloe in the bottoms on each Side of the River. one of the party which had a lame hand was walking on Shore towards evening he came running and hollowing to the perogues chased by a brown bair which he had wounded, bad. Some of the hunters went out with him and killed it.<sup>2</sup> it was nearly of the Same discription as the one killed Some days

<sup>1</sup> In Dawson County, four miles above the mouth of Werner's Creek and thirteen miles above Big Dry Creek.

<sup>2</sup> The hero of this encounter was William Bratton. Lewis describes the incident in greater detail than does Ordway. Bratton was chased a mile and a half and reached the boat so much out of breath that for several minutes he was unable to tell what had happened. Lewis went with seven men in search of the "monster," which was found, shot through the lungs by Bratton yet still full of life. "These bear being so hard to die," notes Lewis, "reather intimdates us all. I must confess that I do not like the gentlemen and had reather fight two Indians than one bear." It is interesting to compare Lewis' estimate of the danger of meeting the grizzly with that of Theodore Roosevelt, a twentieth-century hunter of some repute. "On the whole," he says, "the danger of hunting these great bears has been much exaggerated. At the beginning of the present (nineteenth) century, when white hunters first encountered the grizzly, he was doubtless an exceedingly savage beast, prone to attack without provocation, and a redoubtable foe to persons armed with the clumsy, small-bore, muzzle-loading rifles of the day. But at present bitter experience has taught him caution. He has been hunted for sport, and hunted for his pelt, and hunted for the bounty, and hunted as a dangerous enemy to stock, until, save in the very wildest districts, he has learned to be more wary than a deer, and to avoid man's presence almost as carefully as the most timid kind of game. Except in rare cases he will not attack of his own accord, and, as a rule, even when wounded his object is escape rather than battle." *The Wilderness Hunter* (New York, 1893), 306-7.

past, but much fatter. we Camped before night to dress the bair, after comming 17 miles today. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark who walked on Shore killed 2 buffaloe 2 deer and one beaver. he went on some broken hills on the N. S. which was partly covred with pitch pine and another Sort of pine which resembles the pitch pine only the bark & leaf Smaller. these hill[s] bair the first pine we have Seen on this River. the country back from the River is broken, but the Soil verry rich and good. the River bottoms are Smoth and level thinly covred with cotton wood timber, and filled with all most all kinds of Game. Some Smoth plains under the black broken hills which is covered with wild hysop. passed Several Small runs in the course of the day.

Sunday 12<sup>th</sup> May 1805. a clear pleasant & warm morning. we Set off Soon after Sun rise, and proceeded on passed the pitch pine hills on N. S. one of the hunters killed a deer on a bottom on s. s. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed a beaver in the River. passed a creek or Small river on the N. S. about one o.C. P. M. we halted to dine at a bottom covred with timber on s. s. opposite the lower point of a willow Island, which is in the middle of the River. the wind rose high from the N. W. the [this] detained us the remainder part of the day. Some men went out hunting. we camped for the night. the hunters killed Some Elk & deer & C. we had come [blank in Ms.] miles this day. Some Squawls of rain this evening.

Monday 13<sup>th</sup> May 1805. the wind blew verry hard all last night. Some Sprinkling rain and high wind this morning. Some men out hunting about one o.C. P. M. the wind abated so that we Set off though the hunters had not all returned. the afternoon pleasant. we proceeded on passed the bottoms and bluffs on each side passed the mouths of three creeks 2 on s. s. and one on the N. S. we came 9 miles and Camped in a large bottom on s. s. the hunters all joined [us] had killed several Elk & deer and wounded a brown bear, on the hills. the current Swift (came 9 m<sup>ls</sup>)

Tuesday 14<sup>th</sup> May 1805. a hard white frost last night. our mocassons froze near the fire. a clear and pleasant morning. we Set off at Sun rise. proceeded on passed the mouth of a creek on N. S. passed black bluffs which make near the River on each Side. high hills back from the river Some pitch pine on them. Saw verry large gangs of buffaloe about 11 oClock we passed the Mouth of a large creek on the s. s. called [blank in Ms.] we

proceeded on about 12 oC. it was verry warm or much warmer than it has been before this Spring. we Saw Some banks of Snow laying in the vallies at the N. S. of the hills. about one oClock we halted to dine at a bottom on the s. s. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed a buffaloe. about 3 oC. we proceeded on. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark crossed the River where we Saw a large gang of buffaloe & went on Shore ab<sup>t</sup> 4 oClock the men in the canoes Saw a large brown bear on the hills on S. S. 6 men went out to kill it. they fired at it and wounded it. it chased 2 of them into a canoe, and another into the River and they Steady firing at him. after Shooting eight balls in his body Some of them through the lites [lungs], he took the River and was near catching the Man he chased in, but he went up against the Stream and the bear being wounded could not git to him. one of the hunters Shot him in the head which killed him dead. we got him to Shore with a canoe and butchred him. we found him to be nearly the Same discription of the first we killed only much larger. about 5 oClock the white perogue of the Captains was Sailing a long, there came a violent gust of wind from the N. W. which was to the contrary to the course they were Sailing. it took the Sail and before they had time to douse it it turned the perogue down on one Side So that she filled with water, and would have turned over had it not been for the oarning [awning] which prevented it with much a diew they got the Sail in and got the [pirogue] to Shore and unloaded hir at a bottom where we camped on N. S.<sup>1</sup> came 18½ miles this day one man wounded another b. bear. <sub>c</sub>

<sup>1</sup>Today's camp was in Valley County about midway between Big Dry Creek and Musselshell River. The distance between these streams as shown on the M. R. C. map is 121 miles. Lewis and Clark's reckoning made the distance 138 miles, and that of today's camp above Big Dry Creek seventy-two miles. Ordway's narrative of the two chief events of the day is tame and perfunctory in comparison with that of Lewis. A more stirring bear story would be difficult to find, while the accident to the pirogue, threatening a far graver peril to the expedition than the charge of the wounded grizzly, was accompanied by incidents equally thrilling. The picture of the incompetent steersman, Charbonneau, "crying to his god for mercy"; of the cool and resolute bearing of Cruzatte, threatening to shoot him instantly "if he did not take hold of the rudder and do his duty"; of heroic Sacajawea calmly reaching out for the articles from the boat as they floated away, the while grim Death was reaching out after herself and her infant son; finally the emotions of the leader as from a distance he helplessly gazed upon the impending tragedy, will not easily be forgotten by the reader. No wonder, when all had ended happily, it was deemed "a proper occasion to console ourselves and cheer the sperits of our men" with a dram of ardent "sperits."

Wednesday 15<sup>th</sup> May 1805. cloudy. we delayed to dry the goods. Some men went up the River a hunting the day unfavorable to dry the goods. a Small Shower of rain about 11 oClock continued cloudy all day towards evening the hunters returned. had killed one buffaloe Seven deer and four beaver. the party dressed Skins.

Thursday 16<sup>th</sup> May 1805. a heavy dew last night. a clear & pleasant morning. we opened the goods & C. to get them dry before we packed them up. one of the party wounded a large panther he had killed a deer & was covering it up Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark made search to find him but in vain about 12 I killed a goat or antelope about one we packed up the goods and loaded the Captains perogues one of the party caught another goat which was mired in the mud. about 3 P. M. oClock we Set off proceeded on passed high rough broken hills and round knobs on each Side of the River and narrow bottoms. passed a Small willow Island on or near the N. Shore towards night we killed 3 buffaloe 2 Deer and one buffaloe calf we Came [blank in Ms.] miles and Camped on the S. Side at a bottom covered with timber & ran back like the most of the bottoms for a long distance back.

Friday 17<sup>th</sup> May 1805. a clear pleasant morning we [Ms. too worn to decipher. Perhaps two lines missing] Saw Spots of pitch pine but the knobs are washed so that their is not ever any grass on them the River hills look mountainous and make near the river on each Side we saw large gangs of Elk which are gitting more plenty than the buffaloe we saw a number of geese and goslings in the River about 2 oClock P. m. we halted to dine at a narrow bottom on the s. s. where their was Some old Indians camps. about 3 we proceeded on. towards evening I and Several more of the party killed a femail brown bear, the first female we killed. passed a creek on s. s. verry high hills and white knobs, which are washed by rains. Some Spots of pitch pine on each Side of the River. came [blank in Ms.]<sup>1</sup> miles and Camped on a narrow plain on s. s. where Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed 1 Elk.

Saturday 18<sup>th</sup> May 1805. a clear warm morning. one of the party caught a beaver last night. another killed a rattle Snake this morning at 7 oClock Set off and proceeded on passed verry high rough hills, which look mountainous and make in to the River on each Side. the bottoms verry narrow, but little

<sup>1</sup> Twenty and one-half miles. The camp was in Dawson County, 48 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles, according to the leaders' measurements, below the mouth of Musselshell River.

timber only Spots of pitch pine on S<sup>d</sup> hills. the bottoms are generally covered with rose bush<sup>es</sup> & Rabbit berry bushes [two lines illegible] to dine at a large bottom covered with timber on N. S. which was filled with buffaloe Elk deer & C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed a fat deer. one of the party killed 2 Elk. another killed a beaver about one oC. P. M. cleared up pleasant, about 2 we proceeded on passed pitch pine hills on each Side of the River about 3 oC. we passed a large Creek<sup>1</sup> on N. S. & a large timbered bottom on the S. S. the Missourie is gitting clear and gravelly bottom, & Shore we passed no falling in banks as we did below these pitch pine hilly country. a pleasant warm afternoon. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed three deer. we came 19 miles to day and Camped in a Smooth bottom thinly covered with c. w. timber on the South Side.

Sunday 19<sup>th</sup> May 1805. a heavy dew fell last night. one of the party caught a beaver. we set off about 7 oC. Clear and pleasant. we proceeded on. about 10 oC. A. M. we killed a young brown bear, on the S. Shore. passed pitch pine hills on each Side of the River and timbred bottoms. Semon Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewiss dog got bit by a beaver. one of the hunters on Shore killed a Deer. about one oC. we halted to dine on N. S. at a bottom of c. wood timber. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed three deer. about 2 we proceeded on passed a willow Island near the N. Shore passed high pitch pine & ceeder hills as usual. passed bottoms on each Side covered with c. w. timber. we Came about 18 miles this day & Camped on a timbred bottom on N. S.<sup>2</sup> [three or four words illegible] place Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis killed an Elk. Some other of the hunters killed 3 deer & 3 beaver to day.

Monday 20<sup>th</sup> May 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we Set off as usual. one of the hunters or trapers caught a large beaver last night. about nine oClock A.M. we passed the mouth of a large Creek on the S. Side & a handsom bottom of C. wood timber. proceeded on passed pitch pine & ceeder hills on each Side of the River. the river narrow and crooked at 11 oClock we arived at the mouth of Shell River on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side and formed a Camp for the present. the large Creek which we passed about 4 miles

<sup>1</sup> Named Wiser's Creek for one of the members of the expedition. It is modern Fourchette Creek, according to Coues. It is shown on the M. R. C. map in Valley County, twenty-five miles below the mouth of Musselshell River.

<sup>2</sup> In Valley County, seven miles below the mouth of Musselshell River.

below on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side we Call Blowing fly Creek<sup>1</sup> from the emence quantities of those insect which geather on our meat in Such numbers that we are obledged to brush them off what we eate Mussel Shell River falls in on Lar<sup>d</sup> Side 2270 miles<sup>2</sup> up [It] contains a greater perportion of water than River[s] of its Size below. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark measured it and found it to be 110 yards wide. the water of a greenish yallow coulour and appears to be navigable for Small crafts, the natives Inform us that this river heads in the 1<sup>st</sup> rocky mountains & passes through a broken Country. its head at no great distance from the Yallow Stone river<sup>3</sup> the Country about this river as described yesterday. our Captains took the Meridian altitude and found the Lat<sup>d</sup> to be 47° 024'' the Missourie at the mouth of Shell River is 222 y<sup>ds</sup> wide with a Small current. the Missourie water is not So muddy as below but retains nearly the usal colour. and the Sands principally confined to the points. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed two Deer and Elk. the hunters killed Several Elk and Several Deer, nearly for the Skins to make Leagins [two or three words illegible] & C. Some men was Sent out in the Direction the Country generally very broken Some level plains up the Shell river. the bottoms of the Shell River is well timberd as also a Small river<sup>4</sup> which falls into that river on the upper Side 5 miles ab<sup>o</sup> its mouth the hills on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side contain Scattering Pine and ceeder but of no great value. Small & Scrubby. (came 7 miles to day)

May 21<sup>st</sup> Tuesday 1805. a butiful morning. wind from the west. river falling a little. we Set out at an eairly hour and proceeded on in the usal way by the assistance of the chord principally, but little use use for the oars & less with the poles, as the bottom as the bottom are muddy. we See no great bodies of pure Sand the bars & points are rich mud mixed with fine Sand. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark walked on Shore Star<sup>d</sup> Side the river makes a great bend to the South in a Northerly direction is a rich vallis [which] contain[s] Some Short grass, and prickly pears without timber the Country on the South Side of the Missourie is high Soil and

<sup>1</sup> Modern Squaw Creek, in Dawson County.

<sup>2</sup> According to the M. R. C. map the mouth of Musselshell River is 2,076 miles above the mouth of the Missouri.

<sup>3</sup> Musselshell River rises in the Little Belt Mountains in Meagher County. It flows first eastwardly and then almost due north to the Missouri, forming, in the latter portion of its course the boundary, first between Musselshell and Rosebud, and finally between Fergus and Dawson counties.

<sup>4</sup> The explorers named this stream Sacajawea, or Bird Woman's River. With less gallantry the present generation calls it Crooked Creek.

mineral appearance as usual. Some Scattering pine & R. cedar on the hills. The wind which [blew] moderately all the fore part of the day increased and about dusk Shifted to the N. W. and blew high & Stormed all night. Several loose articles were blown overboard, our Camp which was on a Sand bar on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side at the lower point of an Island<sup>1</sup> we were obliged to move under the hills. the dust & Sand blew in clouds. the bends of the river are Short and points covered with cotton wood under grooths wild rose bush. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed 2 Elk to day. Several deer killed and a buffaloe cow. we Came 20 miles to day.

May 22<sup>nd</sup> Wednesday 1805. the wind continued to blow so violently hard we did not think it prudent to Set out untill it lulled a little. about 11 oClock we Set out. the cold. passed a Small Island in the bend of the river to the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side, and proceeded on. at 5 miles higher passed a Is<sup>ld</sup> in a bend to the Star<sup>d</sup> Side. & a creek a Short distance above on the Stard. Side. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis walked on Shore and killed a deer in the fore part of the day, after dinner Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark walked out a few miles to view the Country, which he found verry rich Soil produceing but little vigitation of any kind except the prickly pairs. but little grass & that verry bad. a great deal of Scattering pine on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side & Some few on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side. the mineral production as described yesterday or in the proceeding days. the game not So a bundant as below. the river continues about the Same width. a few Sand bars, and current more regular. River falls about an Inch a day, we Camped on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side earlier than we intended on account of Saveing the oil of a yellow bear which the party killed late this afternoon. Came 16½ miles to day. Many of the creeks which appear to have no water near their mouths have Streams of running water high up which rise & waste in the Sand or gravel. the water of those creeks are so much impregnated with the Salt Substance that it cannot be drank with pleasantness.

May 23<sup>rd</sup> Thursday 1805. a Severe frost last night. the Thermomiter Stood at the freezing point this morning. wind s. w. the water freezes on the ore Ice on the edge of the river. we Set out at an early hour and passed the mouth of a Creek at 1 mile

<sup>1</sup> Which they named Windy Island. By the explorers' measurements it was twenty miles above Musselshell River. It should be noted that Lewis and Clark's measurements in this portion of their route differ materially from those of the M. R. C. map. The distance from Musselshell to Judith River, which they give as 181½ miles, the latter represents as only 120 miles.



on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side which heads in a mountain N. W. of its mouth 10 miles the country on each Side is as passed yesterday. passed 2 Small creeks Star<sup>d</sup> & 2 on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side to day. a Mountain<sup>1</sup> which appears to be 60 or 70 miles long bearing E. & W. is about 25 miles distant from this river on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side. Northerly of us passed an Island. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark walked on Shore and killed 4 Deer one Elk & a beaver. in the evening we killed a large fat brown or yellow bear, which we unfortunately lost in the River after being Shot [it] took the water & was carried under a drift passed in course of this day three Islands two of them covered with tall timber & a 3<sup>rd</sup> with willows the after part of this day was warm & the Musketoes troublesome Saw but fiew buffalow a number of Elk & Deer & 5 bear & 2 antilopes to day. the river begining to rise, & current more rapid than yesterday in many places we Saw Spruce on the hills Sides Camped on Star<sup>d</sup> Side Came 27 miles to day.

May 24<sup>th</sup> Friday 1805. a cold night the water in the Small vessels froze  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an Inch thick & the Thurmo<sup>t</sup> Stood this morning at the freezing point we Set out at an eairly hour and proceeded [on] at 9 oClock we had a breeze of wind from the S. E. which continued all day this Breeze aforded us good Sailing the River riseing fast current verry rapid passed Several Small Islands [and] two large & 2 Small creeks the 1<sup>st</sup> of these creeks or small rivers  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile above our Camp is 30 y<sup>ds</sup> wide and contains water and appears to take its rise in the North Mountain<sup>2</sup> which is Situated in a Northerly direction ab<sup>t</sup> 20 miles distant. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles higher up a creek falls in on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side opposite a large village of Barking Squerrells 3 miles Still higher a Small Creek falls in on the Lard. Side which is 40 yards wide & has running water this Stream appears to take its rise in the South Mountains which is Situated in a Southerly direction 30 or 40 miles distant.<sup>3</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark walked on the high Country, on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side found it broken & dry Some pine, Spruce & Dwarf ceeder on the hills

<sup>1</sup> Little Rocky Mountains, in Blaine County, Mont.

<sup>2</sup> From this circumstance it was named North Mountain Creek. North Mountain is the Little Rocky Mountains already noted by Ordway, and the creek is modern Rocky (or Little Rocky Mountain) Creek. Opposite its mouth is the town of Wilder.

<sup>3</sup> The creek is modern Armel, while "South Mountain" is now called Judith Mountains, in Fergus County. Ordway is in error in locating Armel Creek three miles above Rocky Creek. Two creeks intervening between these streams are noted by Lewis. On the M. R. C. map Armel Creek is shown approximately thirteen miles above Rocky Creek.

Sides. one man went 10 miles out he reported a Simelarity of a country back. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed a fat buffalow a Short distance below the place we dined 2 canoes & 6 men waited & got the best of the meat. did not joine the party this evening Camped on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side on [a] point<sup>1</sup> the cotton wood in this point is begining to put out a Second time the first being killed by the frost. Came 24½ miles to day.

May 25<sup>th</sup> Saturday 1805. the 2 canoes left for meat did not join us untill 8 oClock this morning at which time we Set out. the morning cool & pleasant wind a head all day from the S. W. we passed a creek on the Lard. Side about 20 yards wide which does not run we also passed 7 Islands. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark walked on Shore and killed a female Ibex or big horned animel of a blackish colour or dark duskey colour over the body. they have great resemblance of the deer kind, especally the leggs, but the head & huffs resemble a Sheep. they are verry active & keep freequently on the Sides of Steep bluffs & places where wolves & bears cannot hurt them.<sup>2</sup> the Country on each Side is high broken [and] rocky the rocks are soft Sand Stone and of a dark brown hard & rough, the hills also contain Coal Coal & C. the bars in the river [are] covered with corse gravel the bottom of the river are Small as we Saw a pole cat to day being the first we have Seen for a long distance. the air of this country is pure & healthy [and] the water of the Missourie fine and cool. Came 18 miles to day.

May 26<sup>th</sup> Sunday 1805. Set out eairly. wind from s. w. the river nearly closed by the high hills on boath sides. the Country thro which borders the River is high broken & rockey generally imbeded with a Soft Sand Stone higher up the hills the Stone are of a brownish yallow, hard & gritty those Stone wash in to the River down the brooks and cause the Shore to be rockey for some distance in the water which we find troublesome to assend. their is Scarce any bottom under the hills, & but fiew trees to be Seen, on either Side except a fiew pine on the hills, we passed 2 creeks on the Starbord Side boath of them had running water in one of them saw Soft Shell Turtle. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis in his walk killed a fat Buffalow, which we were in want of the hunters killed 2 Mountain Rams, or big horned animel in the evening late we

<sup>1</sup> In Fergus County, 5½ miles above the mouth of Arnel Creek.

<sup>2</sup> This was the first Rocky Mountain sheep taken by the explorers. Both Gass and Lewis describe it with much care, due regard being had to their respective descriptive capacities. Clark embellishes his journal with a rude picture of the animal.

passed a rapid which extended quite across the river. the waves roled for Some distance below, we ascended it by the assistance of the chord & poles except one which with Some difficulty got up the Lar<sup>d</sup> the crafts all crossed on Starbord Side we Saw a dow Elk & faun, which gave rise to the name of Elk & faun riffle. bluffs on Labord Side, and jist over the opposite Side is a livel plain. we Camped a little above in a Small grove of Cotton trees on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side.<sup>1</sup> we had a fiew drops of rain at dark. the Salts coal & burnt hills Still continue. Game Scarcer. this country may with propriety be called the Deserts of North america for I do not conceive any part of it can ever be Sitled as it is deficient of or in water except this River, & of timber & too Steep to be tilled. we passed old Indian Camps & lodges in the woody points every day, & 2 at our Camp & C. we Came 22 $\frac{3}{4}$  miles this day.

May 27<sup>th</sup> Monday 1805. the wind blew hard from the S. W. which detained us untill about 10 oClock at which time we Set out & proceeded on. passed a Small necked Island on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side immediately above the timber in which we Camped the river is verry Shoaley and the bad places are verry numerous. at the mouth of every dreen the rocks is thrown Some distance in the river which causes the riffles. this day is verry warm. we Saw only a fiew herds of Big horned animel on the hills, & 2 Elk, one of which we killed. we Camped at 2 dead top trees on the Larbord Side. the river is generally about 200 yards wide & current verry Swift. to day, and has a verry prosperous falls in all its course it rises a little. Came 14 miles to day.<sup>2</sup>

May 28<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 1805. a cloudy morning. Some fiew drops of rain & Smokey wind from the S. W. we Set out at an eairly hour. the Shoaley places are verry numerous & Some bad to git around. we have to make use of the cords & poles, our cords are

<sup>1</sup> The M. R. C. map shows a series of rapids beginning near the 2,169 mile point of the river. Their location corresponds with the point now reached by the expedition. Camp was in Fergus County at or near the 2,170 mile point.

This afternoon Lewis ascended the hills bordering the river and from the elevation thus gained enjoyed his first view of the Rocky Mountains. His first joyful emotion was tempered, he records, by reflections upon the difficulties "which this snowey barrier would most probably throw in my way to the Pacific, and the sufferings and hardships of myself and party in thim."

<sup>2</sup> Gass pauses at this point in his journal for some "general observations" upon the country passed through by the expedition since its departure from the mouth of River Dubois a year earlier. He concludes with the dolorous observation that this day's journey has been through "the most dismal country I ever beheld."

all except one made of Elk Skin & Stretch & Some time[s] broke [break] which indanger the Pirogues or canoe, as it immediately turns and if any rock Should chance to be below the rapidity of the water would turn hir over if Should Strike, we observe great caution at these places. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark walked on Shore, found the country rugged and as described yesterday. he saw great numbers of the Big hornned animals, one of which he killed their faun are nearly half grown. one of the party saw a verry large bear. we picked up a pole on the Shore which has been made use of by the natives for a lodge pole & halled by dogs & it is new & a certain Sign of the Indians being on the River above a foot ball & Several other articles are also found to Substantiate this opinion. at 1 oClock we had a few drops of rain & Some Thunder which is the first Thunder we have had Since we Set out, from Fort Mandans, at 10 miles the river the hills begin to widen & the river Spreads and is crouded with Islands, the bottoms contain Some Scatering cottonwood the Islands also contain timber. passed a creek<sup>1</sup> of running water on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side about 35 yards wide, and Camped imediately opposite to a Small Creek<sup>2</sup> on Lar<sup>d</sup> Side. Came 21 miles to day.

May 29<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 1805. in the course of last night we were alarmed by a Buffalow Swimming across from the opposite Shore & landed opposite the white perogue in which our Captains Stay. he crossed the perogue, & went with great forse up the bank to the fire where the men were Sleeping & was within 18 Inches of their heads when one man setting up alarmed him and he turned his course along the range of men as they lay, passing between 4 fires & within a few Inches of Several mens heads, it was Supposed if he had trod on a man it would have killed him dead. the dog flew at him which turned him from running against the lodge, [in] which the officers layd he passed without doeing more damage than bend a rifle & breaking hir Stalk & injuring one of the blunderbusses in the perogue as he passed through. we Set out this morning at the usal hour and proceeded on. at 2½ miles passed the mouth of a river [blank in Ms.] yards<sup>3</sup> wide, discharge-

<sup>1</sup> Named Thompson's Creek, for one of the members of the expedition. It is modern Birch Creek, in eastern Chouteau County.

<sup>2</sup> Named Bull Creek by the explorers, but now known as Dog Creek. It is in Fergus County, about two miles below Judith River.

<sup>3</sup> One hundred yards. Lewis. Clark named the stream Judith's River, in honor of thirteen-year-old Julia Hancock of Fincastle, Va., who 2½ years later was to become his wife. Happily the name thus bestowed by the gallant captain has been retained by his white successors in this region.

ing a great quantity of water, and containing more wood in its bottom than the Missourie. this river Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis walked up a Short distance and he Saw an old Indian encampment. we Saw also great encampments on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side at the mouth of a small creek of about 100 lodges, which appeared to be about 5 or 6 weeks past. our Indian woman examined their moccasins & C. and told us that they were the Indians which resided below the rocky Mountains, and to the North of the river that hir nation made their moccasins, differently, at  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles passed a considerable rapid at which place the hills approach near the river on both Sides, leave a narrow bottom on the Starbord Side (ash rapid)<sup>1</sup> and continue close all day [with] but little timber. we Saw the remains of a number of buffalow which had been drove down a steep clift of rocks, from appearence their was upwards of 100 of these animels all picked off in a drove, great numbers of wolves were about this place & verry gentle Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed one of them with his Sphere [spear]. the hills above ash rapid contain more rocks & coal, and the more rapid points. we come too for dinner at or opposite the entrance of a Small River<sup>2</sup> which falls in on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side, & no timber for Some distance. has a bold running Stream. Soon after we came too it began to rain, and blew hard, and as we were in a good harbour a point of wood on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side, & no timber for Some distance above, induced the Captains to Stay all night, they gave each man a dram though Small [it] was enofe to efect Several of the men<sup>3</sup> one of the hunters killed an Elk in the evening Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed 2 beaver on the Side of the bank. Some of the hunters who went out on the high land, said it Snowed & hailed on the hills.

May 30<sup>th</sup> Thursday 1805. the rain commenced yesterday evening & continued moderately through the course of the night. more rain has now fallen than we have experenced Since the 15<sup>th</sup> of September last, the rain continued this morning, and the wind too high for us to proceed, untill ab<sup>t</sup> 11 oClock at which time we Set out & proceeded on with great labour we were oblidged to make use of the tow rope & the banks were So muddy & Slippery that the men could Scarsely walk notwithstanding [this] we

<sup>1</sup> Modern Drowned Man's Rapid, about three miles above the mouth of Judith River.

<sup>2</sup> Arrow River; it forms the boundary, for a portion of its course, between Fergus and Chouteau counties.

<sup>3</sup> "such is the effects of abstaining for some time from the uce of sperituos liquors; they were all very merry." Lewis.

proceeded as well as we could, wind hard from the N. W. in attempting to ascend a rapid our toe cord broke of the white perogue, they turned without injury. those rapids are Shallow points & are numerous & difficult one being at the mouth of every dreen. Some little rain at times all day. one man ascended the high country & it was raining & Snowing on those high hills, the day has proved to be raw and cold back from the river is tollarably level. no timber of any kind on the hills, & only a few Scatering trees of cottonwillows & C. we discover in many places old encampments of large bands of Indians, a few weeks past & appear to be making up the River. those Indians we believe to be the Blackfoot Indians or Manetaws [Minitaree] who Inhabit the Country on the heads of the Saskashoarr [Saskatchewan] North of this place & trade alitto [a little] in the Fort Deprare [De Prairie] establishments.<sup>1</sup> we Camped in a handsome Grove of cotton trees on the Stard. Side.<sup>2</sup> River rise  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . Came 8 miles to day.

May 31<sup>st</sup> Friday 1805. a Cloudy morning. the canoes all dispatched eairly to collect the meat of 2 buffalow killed last night. the perogues proceeded on it continued to rain moderately untill about 12 oClock when it ceased & continued cloudy. the Stones on the edges of the river continue to form very considerable rapids we find them difficult to pass. the tow rope of the white perogue which we were oblidge to make use of broke & was in Some danger of turning over. we landed at 12 oClock the cap<sup>ls</sup> gave the or refreshed the party with a dram we are oblidged to undergo great labour and fatigue in ascending this part of the Missourie as they [we] are compelled from the rapidity of the current in many places to walk in the water & on Slippery hill sides on the Sides of rocks & c. on gravel & thro Stiff mud, bear footed and we cannot keep on moccasons from the Stiffness of the mud & decline of the Steepp hill sides<sup>3</sup> —the hills and river cliffs of this day exhibit a most romantick appearance on each Side of the river is a white soft sand Stone bluffs which rises to about half the height of the hills, on the top of this Clift is a black earth. on points in many places this sand Stone appears like antient ruins Some like elegant build-

<sup>1</sup> The North West Company's fort on the site of Edmonton, Alta.

<sup>2</sup> In Chouteau County, eight miles above the mouth of Arrow River.

<sup>3</sup> Lewis paints a more vivid picture of the hardships of the men, and concludes: "in short their labour is incredibly painfull and great, yet those faithful fellows bear it without a murmur."

ings at a distance, Some like Towers & C. & C. in many places of this days march we observe on either Side of the river extraordinary walls of a black semented stone which appear to be regularly placed one Stone on the other. Some of those walls rise to the hight of 100 feet. they are from about 9 foot to 12 feet deep or thick and are perpinticular. those walls commence at the waters edge & in some places meet at right angles those walls appear to continue thier course into the Sand cliffs. the Stone which for those walls are of different Sizes [are] all Square edged great numbers has fallen from the walls near the river which causes causes the wall of unequal hite, in the hollars & gullies I Saw Some Scrubby ceddr. the low walls Strait White & handsom, like ancient elegant buildings. towards evening the country becomes lower and the bottoms wider. no timber on the uplands, except a few ceddr & pine on the cliffs. a few Scatering cottonwood trees on the points in the river bottoms. The appearance of coal continues. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis walked on Shore & observed a Species of pine we had never before Seen, with a Shorter leaf than common & The burr different, he also collected Some of the Stone of one of the walls which appears to be a Siment of Sun glass black earth. we Camped on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side in a Small timberd handsom bottom above the mouth of a creek<sup>1</sup> on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side. the hunters killed 2 animels with big horns. 2 buffalow an Elk & a black taid or mule deer. we Saw a number of those big horned animels on the cliffs. but fiew buffalow or Elk, no antilope, a fiew mule Deer. Saw a fox to day. the river rises a little it is from 150 to 250 yards wide. Came 18 miles to day.<sup>2</sup>

June 1<sup>st</sup> Saturday 1805. a Cloudy morning. we Set out at an eairly hour and proceeded on as usal with the toe rope. the country appears to be lower and the cliffs not so high or common. a Mountain or a part of the north Mountain about 8 or 10 miles N. of this place. more cotton trees scatering along the river & Islands than yesterday. no timber on the high land. The river from 2 to 400 yards wide & current more jentle than yesterday. but fiew bad rapids points to day. the wild animels not so pleanty as below we only killed a ram & mule deer to day. we Saw buffalow at a distance in the plains. perticularly near a lake on the Lard. Side about 8 eight miles off from the river. we passed Six Islands and

<sup>1</sup> Which they named Stonewall Creek. Now called Eagle Creek, in Chouteau County.

<sup>2</sup> The night's camp was "just above the mouth" of Eagle Creek. Lewis.

Camped on the 7<sup>th</sup> all night.<sup>1</sup> all those Islands are Small but contain Some timber on them. The river rising a little wind to day from S. W. Some few drops of rain in the morning and also in the evening. flying clouds all day. Saw Several Indians Camps made of Sticks & Set up on end and do not appear to be long evacuated. The roses in full bloom we saw yellow berry, red berry bushes great numbers wild or choke Cherries, prickly pairs are in the blossom we Saw great numbers of them. Came 23 miles to day.

June 2<sup>nd</sup> Sunday 1805. we had a hard wind & a little rain last night. this morning fair. we Set out at an eairly hour. wind from S. W. Some little rain to day wind hard a head. the Country much like that of yesterday, as described. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis walked on Shore, himself and the hunters killed 6 Elk a bear<sup>2</sup> and 2 mule Deer, and 2 buffalow, which was all in good order a beaver also killed this evening. passed 9 Islands to day. the current Swift but regular. we Camped on the Larboard Side at the mouth or at the forks of the river.<sup>3</sup> the current & Sizes of them we could not examine this evening. a fair night. The Captains took Some Lun<sup>r</sup> observations, of moon & Stars. Came 18 miles to day.

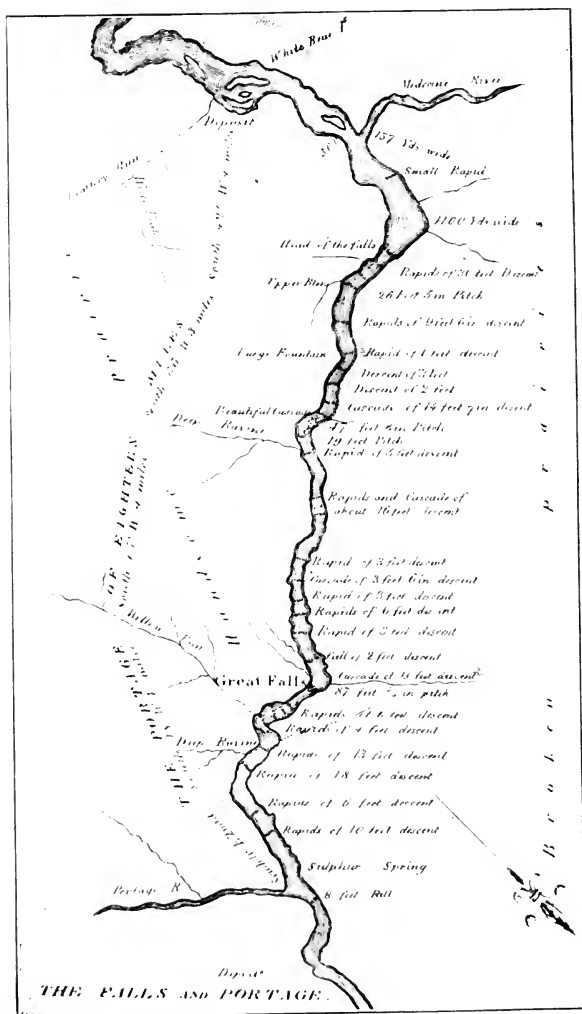
<sup>1</sup> Five miles, according to Coues, above the mouth of Little Sandy Creek. The distances given by Lewis and Clark in this portion of their route materially overrun the M. R. C. map measurements.

<sup>2</sup> The bear, a grizzly, undertook to do some killing on its own account. It came "very near catching Drewyer," and pursued Charbonneau so hotly that he was forced to secrete himself "very securely" in some bushes until it was slain. Lewis.

<sup>3</sup> At the mouth of Marias River. For the name given it see *post*, 228, note 1. On the problem which its discovery presented to Lewis and Clark for solution see Ordway's entry for June 3 and *post*, 226, note 1.







### THE FALLS AND THE PORTAGE ROUTE

From the Dublin, 1817, reprint of the Biddle *History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*

## CHAPTER VIII

### FROM MARIAS RIVER TO THE GREAT FALLS, JUNE 3— JULY 14, 1805

June 3<sup>rd</sup> Monday 1805. we formed a Camp on the point in the junction of the two rivers, & two canoes & 3 men were dispatched up each river to examine and find if possible which is the most probable branch. the left fork which is the largest we are doubtful of. the Indians do not mention any river falling in on the right in this part of the Missourie. The Scolding river,<sup>1</sup> if there is such a one should have fallen in below agreeable to their acct<sup>s</sup> men were dispatched also in different directions by land, to a mountain covered with snow to the South. & others up each river. the Captains walked out & ascended the hill in the point, they observed a level Country to the foot of the mountains which lie South of this, also a River<sup>2</sup> which falls into the Right hand fork about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles above its mouth on the Larboard Side. this little river discharges a great deal of water & contains as much cotton timber in its bottoms as either of the others. they saw buffaloe & antilopes wild Cherries red & yellow berries, Goose berries &c. abound in the river bottoms. prickly pears on the high plains. the Cap<sup>ts</sup> had a meridian altitude and the Latitude produced was  $27^{\circ} 24' 12''$  North. the after part of the day proved Cloudy. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark measured each river & found the one to the Right hand 186 yards wide of water, & the left hand fork 372 yards wide and rapid. the right hand fork falling the other at a Stand, and clear the right fork and the river which fall into it is coloured & a little muddy. Several of the party complain of their feet being sore by walking in the sand, & their being cut by the stones we to be sure have a hard time of it obliged to walk on shore & haul the rope and  $\frac{9}{10}$  of their time barefooted. in the evening the parties all returned to Camp had been about 15

<sup>1</sup> Milk River; for the name see *ante*, 209, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> "called Rose river." Gass. It is modern Teton River, a considerable stream which rises in Teton County and flows almost due east to its junction with Marias River.

miles up each river, but could not determine which would be our most probable branch for our Course &C. our officers are not Satisfied in their minds which River will be best to for us to take. So they determine to leave the crafts & the most of the men here & go one day & a half up each river with a Small party to find out which will be the most probable River for us to take &C.<sup>1</sup> the hunters killed 4 buffalow 3 Elk 3 beaver & Several Deer our officers Gave Each man a Dram.

June 4<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 1805. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and 6 men Set out to go up the right hand fork. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & 5 more Set out at the Same time to go up the left hand fork in order to go one day & a halves march up the River and see if they can find out which will be our best River to proceed on. Some of the men at camp killed 2 faun Elk near the point for their Skins to dress. the day proved Cloudy. 2 men who had been from Camp a hunting returned towards evening. had killed one Elk & a Deer & Set traps for beaver, &C. a few drops of rain towards evening & high cold wind from the North.

Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup> June 1805. the wind blew high from the North all last night a Cloudy Cold windy morning. one beaver caught last night. the men engaged Dressing Skins for to make themselves moccasons leggins &C. one man by the name of Goodrich has caught a considerable quantity of fish. Some of which are Shell fish, but the most part are Small cat fish. we have caught none as large this Season as we did last as yet, as we have a great plenty of meat we do not trouble ourselves for to<sup>o</sup> catch fish.

June 6<sup>th</sup> Thursday 1805. a Cloudy cold morning. The wind high from the north. Some of the men went a Short distance from Camp and killed 2 buffalow 1 mule deer 1 common deer 2 antilopes & a fat Elk. about 2 oClock P. M. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and his

<sup>1</sup> The serious nature of the problem which had arisen can hardly be stated better than in Lewis' own words: "An interesting question was now to be determined; which of these rivers was the Missouri, or that river which the Minnetares call Amahte Arz-zha or Missouri, and which they had discribed to us as approaching very near to the Columbia river. to mistake the stream at this period of the season, two months of the traveling season having now elapsed, and to ascend such stream to the rocky Mountain or perhaps much further before we could inform ourselves whether it did approach the Columbia or not, and then be obliged to return and take the other stream would not only loose us the whole of this season but would probably so dishearten the party that it might defeat the expedition altogether. convinced we were that the utmost circumspection and caution was necessary in deciding on the stream to be taken."

party returned to Camp had been about 40 miles up the South fork & Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark thinks it will be the best course for us to go. they Saw a beautiful Spring about eight miles up the South fork from this place where they refreshed themselves with a drink of grog as they had a canteen of old Spirits with them, the middle river is only about 200 yards across from the South fork, at the Spring, they Saw but little game on the South fork, but returned back on the middle fork, where they found abundance of Elk Deer buffalo antilopes & wolves, they Saw Several brown or yellow bear also one of the men by the [name] of Jo<sup>s</sup> Fields was attracted [attacked] by an old hea bear & his gun missed fire and he was in danger of being killed by that venomous animal had the rest of the party not been in hearing, who fired at him and he turned his course and left the man.<sup>1</sup> they killed three bear & eat a part of one of them. they killed on the little R. a number of fat Elk Deer & C. & C. the bottoms on the little river is like those below the forks, a considerable of a kind of cotton wood which has a leaf like the leaf of a cherry. we [they] Saw wild tanzey in these bottoms. nothing grows in the high plains but Short grass and prickley pears, they Saw a large Mountain to the South of them covered with Snow, which was but a Short distance from where they turned back. a light Sprinkling of rain this afternoon. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and his party has not returned this evening. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark revived the party with a Dram.

June 7<sup>th</sup> Friday 1805. rained all last night. a rainy cold morning the wind N. W. Some men went out a hunting, & killed two Deer. rained moderately all day. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and his party did not return this evening we expect the reason is owing to the badness of the weather as it is muddy & Slippery walking.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The adventure of Fields with the grizzly, which occurred June 4, is described more fully by Clark. The predicament of Fields was a tight one in several respects. His gun could not be fired because the powder was wet; although his companions were in full view an intervening cliff prevented them from coming to the rescue; and the grizzly was "so near that it struck his foot."

<sup>2</sup> This surmise was correct only in part. Lewis had made a longer excursion than had been contemplated; while his progress had been delayed, also, for the reason suggested by Ordway. The "Slippery walking" was, in fact, responsible for one of the most thrilling incidents of the entire expedition. In passing along the face of a bluff (June 7) Lewis slipped at a narrow pass about thirty yards in length, and only the use of his espontoon saved him from being precipitated over the cliff into the river ninety feet below. He had scarcely reached a spot where he could stand without the aid of his espontoon, when Windsor, who was behind him, cried out, "Great God! Captain, what

Saturday 8<sup>th</sup> June 1805. Some cloudy. the wind blew cold from the N. W. Several men went out from camp to hunt. about 9 oClock A. M. cleared off pleasant. the Indian goods & C. put out to air. we Saw the high Mountains to the West. our Camp covered with Snow. the greater part of which has fell within a few days. the South fork of the Missourie is high & of a yellow coulour. the N. fork is more white than common owing as we expect to the late rain which has melted the Snow on the mountains. about 3 oClock P. M. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & his party returned to Camp, & Informed us that they had walked through high plains for about 60 miles up the north fork. they found that it holds its bigness, & depth of water [and has] bottoms of timber which is covered with game. they killed a number of buffalow. 16 Deer 6 Elk & a brarow. they Saw a range of Mountains to the South of them. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis thinks that the N. fork bears too far north for our course for if we Should take the wrong fork we should have much further to go by land & more mountains to cross to go over to the Columbia River which descends to the western ocean. So our Captains conclude to assend the South South fork and burry some articles which we can do without & leave the largest perogue. they named the North fork River Mariah and the middle or little River named Tanzey River.<sup>1</sup> The water & bottoms in every respect of each resimles the Missourie below the forks. only Smaller. we put a brand on a tree which Stood on the point. the men generally in camp has been employed dressing Skins & C. towards evening the hunters all came in had killed 13 M. mule

shall I do?" Turning to look, Lewis found the unfortunate man had slipped and fallen about the middle of the narrow pass, and was lying face down, his right arm and leg extending over the edge of the precipice, while with his left he clung desperately to the ground to prevent being dashed into eternity. Lewis spoke to him "very calmly," assuring him he was in "no kind of danger," and directed him to draw his knife from his belt with his free hand and dig a hole in the bank to receive his right foot. Following this and the further directions of Lewis the alarmed Windsor succeeded in effecting his escape from his perilous situation.

<sup>1</sup> Lewis named Marias River in honor of his cousin, Miss Maria Wood, although he deemed the honor thus bestowed not entirely equal to her merits. "it is true," he observes, "that the hue of the waters of this turbulent and troubled stream but illy comport with the pure celestial virtues and amiable qualifications of that lovely fair one; but on the other hand it is a noble river." Lewis gave the river the possessive form of the name, which modern usage retains, shorn of the apostrophe. The Tanzey, called by Gass, Rose River, is, of course, the modern Teton.

& common Deer & one beaver. The wind blew from the East a light Shower of rain this evening.

Sunday 9<sup>th</sup> June 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we unloaded the red perogue, & put out the Indian Goods &C. to air. 2 of the hunters went out in the plains and killed the fattest buffalow that we have killed this year. it took Eight men to bring in the meat. 7 men went out to the high land to dig a cash [cache]. a hole in the ground for to burry Some of the articles So that we may find them Safe when we return back. The wind rose high from the West all day. in the evening the Cap<sup>t</sup>s revived the party with a dram. they had a frolick fiddled & danced & Sang untill late in the evening. we had a light Shower of rain about 11 oClock at night.

Monday 10<sup>th</sup> June 1805. a beautiful pleasant morning. Some men employed makeing a towing line for the white perogue. we burried a canister of powder & Some led &C. in the point. we halled out our largest perogue in the middle of an Island in the North fork opposite the point, and made hir fast between Some trees, & branded Several trees to prevent the Savages from disturbing hir the blacksmiths fixed up their bellows & repaired the air gun & Several other fire arms. The canoe calked, the Baggage aranged & loaded the crafts, about 4 oClock P.M. we had a light Shower of rain which lasted about an hour. high wind. the evening pleasant Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis concludes to go on with a fiew men to the South Mountain & See the course of the River &C.<sup>1</sup> Sah-cah-gah our Indian woman verry Sick & was bled.

Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> June 1805. a clear pleasant morning. about 8 oClock Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis, George Drewyer G. Gibson Jo<sup>s</sup> Fields & Silas Goodrich Set out for the Snowey So[u]th Mountains, we burried on the high land 1 keg of powder 1 bar led. 1 keg flour. 1 keg pork 2 kegs parch<sup>d</sup> meal the bellows & tolls, augur plains, Saws axes tin cups dutch ovens, bear Skins packs of beaver Skins buffalow Robes, & a number of other articles, all of weight such as

<sup>1</sup> This was done because of the uncertainty as to which of the two forks was the continuation of the Missouri River proper, and the desire to determine the point as soon as possible. With the exception of Lewis and Clark, the party to a man believed the Marias to be the main river, and the one, therefore, which should be ascended. The Indians at Fort Mandan had told of the falls on the upper Missouri, and Lewis intended to hasten on in advance until he came either to them or to the "Snowy mountains." The discovery of the former would determine they were on the right stream; of the latter, that they were ascending the wrong one.

Rams horns & C. The blacksmiths compleated repaering the arms & C. we Compleated burrying the articles & C. [and] got in readiness to assend the South fork. the wind from the S. West hard the evening fair & fine wind from the N. W. after night became cold. high wind we have caught a considerable quantity of Small fish Since we lay at the forks. one kind of flat Scalled fish that we never Saw the kind before.

Wednesday 12<sup>th</sup> June 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we burryed 3 traps which was forgot when we made the Deposite yesterday, about 7 oClock we Set out from Camp on point Deposite which is 2508 $\frac{1}{4}$  miles<sup>1</sup> from the Mouth of the Missourie. we proceeded on [up] the South fork which we continue to call the Mis-sourie. we passed 5 or 6 Islands before we got out of cite of the point. one man caught a large beaver on one of them last night. we passed verry high black & yellow bluffs on each Side of the River. Saw Elk antilopes & Geese & Goslings & C. found penerial [pennyroyal] along the Stoney banks. the current verry rapid. 2 canoes were in some danger to day one came near turning over. Several rattle Snakes has been seen by the party to day one man took hold of one which was in a bunch of bushes as he was taking along the towing line, but luckley escaped being bit. our Intrepters wife verry Sick. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed this evening 1 Elk & a deer Some of the men killed 1 Elk & a deer also. we passed in the course of the day a number of Gravelly Islands & bars in the River. the Shore on each Side is covred with Small Stone of different Sizes, we Came 18 miles to day & Camped at a handsom bottom of cotton timber, where the Elk & Deer was killed. on Star<sup>d</sup> Side.<sup>2</sup>

Thursday 13<sup>th</sup> June 1805. a beautiful pleasant morning. we Set out at an eairly hour a heavy diew proceeded on passed the mouth of a Small River on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side about 50 yds wide at the mouth of a muddy colour and verry rapid. bottoms of cotton timber for some distance up we named it Snowey River<sup>3</sup> as it heads in the mountain covred with Snow to our left. we passed verry high bluffs on each Side of the River. Some small bottoms of cotton timber. Saw abundance of wild or choke cherry, the Goose berrys are now ripe & abound in the River bottoms.

<sup>1</sup> On the M. R. C. map, 2,263 miles.

<sup>2</sup> Three miles above the point where the Teton River approaches closely the Missouri, and about five miles below Fort Benton.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Shonkin Creek, which empties into the Missouri four miles below Fort Benton.



also a yellow current the kind I never Saw before. they are nearly as large as the goose berrys, but Sower & yellow when ripe. we Came 14 miles to day and Camped on the South Side,<sup>1</sup> Some of the hunters killed a buffalow and 2 Deer to day.

Friday 14 June 1805. a fare pleasant morning 3 men lay out last [night] 2 of them had Sore hands the other Sick. proceeded on passed a bottom on N. S. where Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & men had Camped 1 night & killed 2 bears & one Deer & left the Skins & fat for us to take on board. the 2 men who lay out on that Side we found here. at breakfast we came up with the other man who had killed the evening before 2 buffalow & 2 Deer. we proceeded on passed verry high bluffs on each Side of the River and Several Islands covered with cotton timber. the current verry rapid all day. our Intrepters wife verry Sick. one of the men a light feaver. we Came 10 miles to day through a verry rapid current, and Camped on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side at a small bottom of cotton timber.<sup>2</sup>

Saturday 15<sup>th</sup> June 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we Set out at the usual hour & proceeded on passed through the rapidest water I ever saw any craft taken through. passed high bluffs & clifts on each Side. at noon we halted at the mouth of a Small River on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side, which we named Strawberry River<sup>3</sup> as their is a Great many vines about it. it is a handsom rapid Stream. Small bottoms of cotton timber on it. 2 hunters went a Short distance up the branch & killed 2 Deer, wild or choke cherrys Goose berrys & yellow currents abound in these bottoms. the afternoon verry warm we proceeded on passed redish bluffs on each side of the River, & clifts of blackish rocks in some places, passed over some rapids where the waves came over the canoe which I was in and I expected every moment to have filled. in the evening we came to a bad rapid which we concluded to camp below it all night as we would be too late gitting through. So we Camped on the Stard. Side<sup>4</sup> one man Sent up to the falls for Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & C. the wood Scarse. we Came 12 miles to day by exerting ourselves as much as possable with the towing line to the best advantage.

<sup>1</sup> In Chouteau County, seven miles, by Clark's measurements, above Fort Benton.

<sup>2</sup> In Chouteau County, seven miles below the mouth of Highwood Creek.

<sup>3</sup> So named in the journals of Gass and Whitehouse, but Shields Creek (after a member of the expedition) according to Clark. It is modern Highwood Creek, which enters the Missouri from the south twenty-five miles above Fort Benton.

<sup>4</sup> Five and three-fourths miles above Highwood Creek.

Sunday 16<sup>th</sup> June 1805. a Small Shower of rain and high wind from the West the fore part of last night. a clear morning. all hands took the canoes up over the rapids. then came back and took over the large perogue about 1 mile then halted to wait the arrival of Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis their being another rapid near above which was impossible for loaded craft to pass. we caught considerable quantity of Small flat Scale fish while we lay here. about 12 oClock Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and his men joined us. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis had been about 15 miles up the River above the 1<sup>st</sup> rapid, or Shoot, and [reported] that the falls continue all that distance in 5 different Shoots. the highest about 50 feet perpendicular, & Shoots & brakers all the way between each other. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & men had killed Some fat buffalow and dried the best of the fat meat for us. they caught a great many fine fish like our Sammon trout. they had dried a considerable quantity of them for us also. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis concluded that the Lard. Side would be the best for us to carry our baggage through the plains above the falls as that is the smoothest Side we crossed over to the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side & unloaded the canoes & crossed the[m] back to the Star<sup>d</sup> Side & halled them up the rapid about 1 mile empty. then crossed them back again So that we could take them in the mouth of a Small River<sup>1</sup> which puts in close under the next Shoot or fall, then we could have a more convenient place to take them up the bank, on the Smoth plains. opposite to the mouth of this little River on the N. Side of the Missourie is a beautiful Sulphur or mineral Spring which falls out of the Side hills. it has a Strong taste of Sulphur. we we drink of it freely. in the bottoms is a great quantity of flax growing all in blue blossoms & C.

Monday 17<sup>th</sup> June 1805. a clear morning. Some men employed takeing the canoes up the little River. 6 men employed making Small low waggons for the purpose of halling the canoes, Goods & baggage through the plains by the falls. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and five men went to Survey and measure the distance & C. to the head of the falls to where we could take the water again. 2 hunters out in order to git Elk Skins to cover or bottom our Iron boat<sup>2</sup> when

<sup>1</sup> Which they named Portage Creek. It is modern Belt Creek, on the boundary between Chouteau and Cascade counties.

<sup>2</sup> In preparation for such a contingency Lewis had had made for him at the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry the iron frame of a boat, which was to be completed by covering it with skins. On trial, however, as we shall shortly see, the device proved impracticable, and Lewis was reluctantly compelled to abandon it.

we git ab<sup>o</sup> the falls, as we will Stand in need of it, as we leave our largest craft at this place. the timber is verry scarce about the falls. the buffalow plenty. in the evening we got the canoes up the Small River about  $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles to the falls of it of about 4 feet prependicular. we had some difficulty in gitting them up the rapids to this place one canoe turned over. was near hurting the 2 men in hir. Several others filled with water halling them up Such Steep rapids, but we got them all up Safe to this falls of the little River, and carried them out on a level, turned them on one Side to dry & C.

Tuesday 18<sup>th</sup> June 1805. this morning all hands halled out the long perogue. we leave [it] in a bunch of bushes below the Camp. we covered hir over with bushes & dry wood. Secured hir Safe. 3 men Sent to a knob a short distance out to dig a cash or hole to put a fiew heavey articles in which we can Spare, to deposite at this place. the day pleasant we repacked the Indian goods & C. moved all the baggage near to camp. about 12 oClock the hunters came in had killed 10 deer but no Elk, in the evening we saw some buffalow on the opposite Shore. Some of the hunters crossed and killed 2 of them the little low waggons compleated. all made of wood & of a ordinary quallity though they may answer the purpose. the wind high from the West. our Intrepters wife some what better than She has been for some time past. we are now  $2580\frac{1}{4}$  miles from the mouth of the Missourie River.

Wednesday 19<sup>th</sup> June 1805. a clear pleasant morning. Several men Sent over the River for the meat which was killed last night. three hunters sent up to the head of the falls to a river called Medicine River<sup>1</sup> on the N. Side. we Set them across here in a canoe, we kept a canoe to cross the River in. the wind verry high from N. W. we prepare to move the Goods & baggage & C.

Thursday 20<sup>th</sup> June 1805. Some cloudy & cold for the Season. the wind continues high from the west off the mountains. 4 men Sent across the river to hunt. a light Sprinkling of rain about noon. we are now waiting the arival of Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark. late in the afternoon 2 of the hunters came in and informed us that they had got 11 buffalow killed & the most of them fat. the other 2 Stayed

<sup>1</sup> Modern Sun River. It rises in the Rocky Mountains near the continental divide and flows in an easterly direction to its junction with the Missouri just above the city of Great Falls. Sun River was discovered by Lewis on June 14, in the course of his advance excursion up the Missouri. Previous information concerning it had been received from the Indians at Fort Mandan, however, and Medicine River was the name by which they knew it.

to butcher. all hands in Camp turned out for the meat, & brought about the half of what was fat 3 men Stayed all night to dress the remainder. verry large gangs all around the place within Shot of the butchers & C. a light Sprinkling of rain. late in the evening Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and party returned to Camp they informed us that they traversed & measured the River and falls, as they went up. measured all the Small or little falls which were common & of different hites. the highest catteract or falls is 87 feet per-pinticular. the next highest 47 feet 8 Inch the next or 3<sup>rd</sup> about 30 or upwards. a number of Small ones & a continued rapid the whole way for 17 miles to where we can take water again. those large falls all have a mist which rises about 200 yards from the Shoot. about a mile above the falls of 47 feet 8 Inches, the largest fountan or Spring falls in that we ever Saw before and it is the oppinion of Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark that it is the largest Spring in america known. this water boils up from under the rocks near the River & falls immediately in to the river 8 feet & keeps its colour for  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile, which is verry clear and of a blueish cast & C.<sup>1</sup> two of Cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks party was attacted by a large White bear on an Island near where they had camped one night. one of them A. Willard like to have been caught. the other [was] chased in the water after Willard made his ascape towards camp. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 3 others went to their assistance. the bear ratreated. night came on the bushes thick. So they did not kill him, they Saw but little timber. the country up the medicine River above the falls is level with low banks. they Saw a chain of Mountains to the West Some of which perticular those to the N. W. and S. W. are covered with Snow, and appear to be verry high. they turned back in order to look out the levelest way for the portage. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark lost a part of his notes which could not be found. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Saw a rattle Snake out in the plains a long distance from timber or water. they Saw verry large innumerable quantyties of buffalow while they were gone. they killed 7 buffalow & Saved as much of the meat as possable. killed a beaver also, they Saw buffalow attempt to Swim the River above the falls. Some of which was sucked over and seen no more. great numbers of those animels are lost in these falls which is the cause of our Seeing So many below for a long distance washed up on Shore. Some make the Shore above the falls half dronded.

<sup>1</sup> For further information about this fountain see *post*, Ordway's entry for June 27 and 238, note 1.

June 21<sup>st</sup> Friday 1805. a fine cool morning. the wind from the S. W. off the mountains and hard. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis with the men except a few took a part of the baggage & a canoe up a hill on to the plain above a mile in advance. Several men employed in Shaveing & graneing Elk hides for the Iron boat as it is called, the remainder of the meat which was dressed last night was brought in this morning & the men returned. Some of them had killed 2 or 3 deer & a buffalow calf and a Small Elk. we Saw thousands of buffalow on the high lands the calfs verry numerous among them they come in gangs to the river to drink & C.

June 22<sup>nd</sup> Saturday 1805. a clear pleasant morning. the wind as usual the party all raised eairly the 2 Captains with all but 3 of the party<sup>1</sup> set out with more baggage to take the canoe and loading we took on the plains yesterday up to the upper end of the portage to where we can take water again with the canoes. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and 3 more of the party who went took their baggage all in order to Stay at the upper Camp to prepare whatever may be necessary for the Iron boat, & C. large gangs of buffalow all around the lower camp to day. one gang swam the river near the camp Cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks Servant York killed one of them. a light Sprinkling of rain. the country in general is verry high land, no timber back a little Scatering along the Shore on the points & C. high bluffs & cliffs along the Shores. Some pine in the drift wood along the Shores. we are a little South of the Mandans but have had cold weather as yet. it must of course be a healthy country. we all enjoy good health as yet. our Interpreter wounded a cabberee or antilope this evening.

June 23<sup>rd</sup> Sunday 1805. a cloudy morning. the wind from East. a light Sprinkling of rain. in the afternoon one of the hunters came to the lower camp from the medicine River. he informed us that George Shannon left them the Same day they Stearted from this, & they could not account where he went. The other 2 hunters had killed 16 buffalow and 5 deer but no Elk.

<sup>1</sup> From Lewis we learn that Ordway, Goodrich, Charbonneau, York, and Sacajawea were left behind in the camp. The last two Ordway's statement ignores. His journal for today deals with events in the camp, of which he had charge. Until the reunion of the party after the portage shall have been accomplished full knowledge of its doings can be gained only by a comparison of the several journals that have come down to us. In general it may be said that Lewis devoted himself mainly to work on the iron boat, while Clark attended chiefly to the transportation of the outfit across the portage.

they had dried considerable of the buffalow meat at their Camp.<sup>1</sup> in the evening Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & party returned to the lower Camp, they informed us that they had Some difficulty. the truck wheels, or some part of them broke several times & C. the tongue broke near the upper Camp & they were obliged to leave it and formed the Camp about 3 miles above the Medicine River. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Straightened the road considerable from that he went on yesterday. they took 2 canoes up the hill from the creek this evening. the men mended their mockisons with double Soles to Save their feet from the prickley pear (which abound in the plains) and the hard ground [which] in many places is so hard as to hurt our feet verry much. the emence numbers of buffalow after the last rain has trod the flat places in Such a manner as to leave them uneaven, and dried as hard as frozen Ground. the men all much fatigued this evening &.<sup>2</sup> the distance Staked out for the portage is 18 $\frac{1}{4}$  miles from the lower Camp or lower rapid.

June 24<sup>th</sup> Monday 1805. a cloudy morning. all hands rose eairly. had halled the remaining canoe out of the water to dry. we divided the baggage in to 3 percells, one of which the party took on their backs and one waggon with truck wheels, to the canoes 3 miles in advance [and] loaded and proceeded on with 2 canoes being in 2 parties. put the baggage in to the canoes & went on verry well to the creek called willow creek.<sup>3</sup> one of the waggon tongues broke which detained us a Short time. then proceeded on towards evening when we got within about three miles of the upper Camp, a volent Shower arose from the N. W. hard thunder caught us in a verry hard rain So that in a few minutes

<sup>1</sup> Shannon, Drewyer, and Reuben Fields had been sent on June 19 to Medicine River to hunt. From then until June 23, the captains did not hear "a sentence" from them. On the latter date Lewis, having gained the camp at the upper end of the portage, set out in search of the hunters. Five miles up Medicine River he found Shannon alone; the latter had parted from his companions at the Great Falls at noon of June 19, and had not seen them since, having busied himself in hunting on Medicine River "as he had been directed." The anxiety of Fields and Drewyer, whose report to Clark, Ordway notes, was probably due in large part to Shannon's habit of getting lost.

<sup>2</sup> From Lewis we get this picture of their hardships: "at every halt these poor fellows tumble down and are so much fatigued that many of them are asleep in an instant; in short their fatigues are incredible; some are limping from the soreness of their feet, others faint and unable to stand for a few minutes, with heat and fatigue, yet no one complains, all go with cheerfulness."

<sup>3</sup> Modern Box Elder Creek, which the party met with about midway of the portage. It enters the Missouri about four miles above the mouth of Belt Creek.

the ground was covered with water. So that we got a hearty a hearty drink of water in the holes & puddles &.C. the rain continued about half an hour, at dusk we arrived at the upper Camp all wet and much fatigued. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis revived us with a dram. we found Shannon their who had been up the medicine River hunting. he had killed 3 buffalow 8 Deer several antelopes but no Elk. the wind was considerable assistance to us in the course of the day, as we were drawing the canoes the wind being sufficiently hard at times to move the canoe on the Trucks. this is Saleing on dry land in every Sence of the word.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> June 1805. a cloudy morning. we Set out with the 2 truck waggons and returned back to the lower Camp for another load. took 2 canoes up the hill on the high plains the day proved pleasant and warm the men much fatigued. we Saw large gangs of buffalow and antelopes to day. we got our loads ready for a Start in the morning. below the falls the plains are inferior in point of Soil to those below, more Stones on the Sides of the hills, grass but a few Inches long or high and but a few flowers in the plains. Great quanties of choke cherries Goose berrys red & yellow berry, & red purple currents on the Edges of the water. we catch great quantities of Trout and a kind of muttel [mussel] flat backs and a Soft fish resembling Shad. caught but few cat fish this Season. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor Sick the party amused themselves dancing untill 10 oClock all in cheerfulness and good humour. we tied up all the baggage ready for an eairly Steart in the morning.

June 26<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 1805. Some rain last night. this morning cloudy. we Set out eairly with our loads to the canoes consisting of pearched meal pork powder lead axes tools Bisquit and portable Soup we put it in the canoes and proceeded on verry well to willow creek, where we halted to cook & then proceeded on. The day proved fair. we Saw great numbers of buffalow in the plains in every direction considerable of the plains as far as our Eyes could extend appear to be black with buffalow. Some antelopes and Deer also wolves Whitehouse took Sick this evening a little before we got to the upper Camp. we arrived at the u. camp a little before night. the men went with Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis on a Small Island below the Camp to hunt for a white bear which had been about the Camp the night before and cut Some meat near the tents &.C.

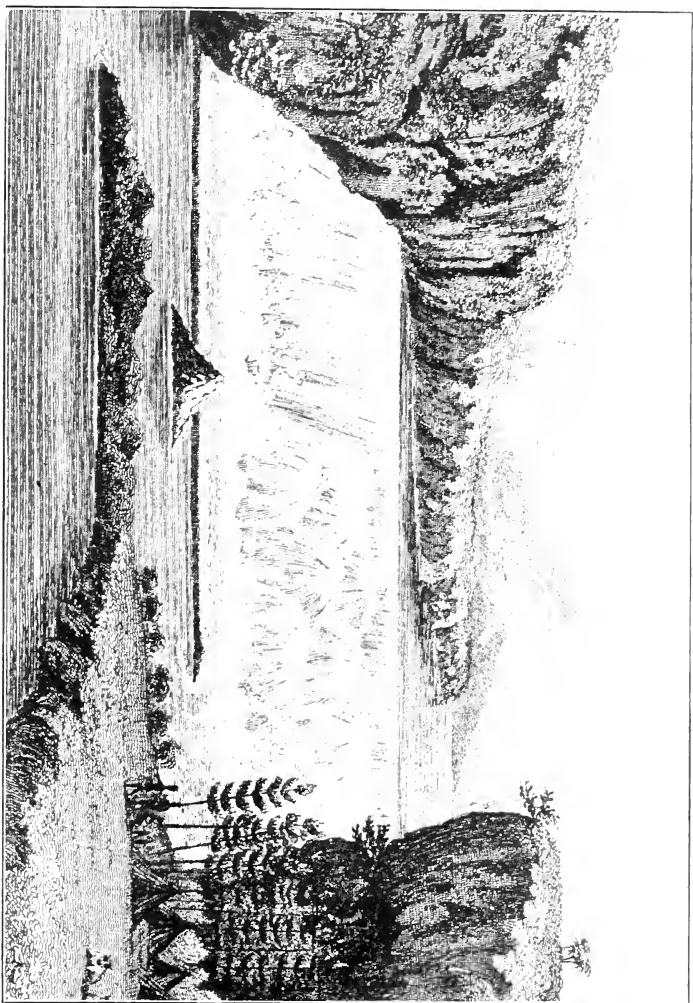
<sup>1</sup> The "saleing" was promoted by the hoisting of a sail on the canoe, a detail which Ordway neglects to record.

June 27<sup>th</sup> 1805, Thursday a fair warm morning. Whitehouse Some better. a heavey dew last night. I and three more of the party Set off cairly to return by the way of the falls. the men Stearted with the truck waggons at the same time. I passed Some Indian Camps above medicine River on the Shore Lar<sup>d</sup> Side. Saw a large gang of buffalow out of which I killed a cow and calf, and went on passed the upper falls which is a great catteract and look[s] remarkable. I Set and looked at them a fiew minutes and went on untill I came to the Spring which was the finest tasted water I ever Saw and the largest fountain which [comes] up through a ledge of rocks near the River and forces its way up about 10 feet for Some distance around then forms a fall in to the River. it is clear as a cristal I could have Seen to the bottom of the fountain to pick up a pin.<sup>1</sup> the water cold and pure. the Rocks green which the water run over. proceeded on about noon we killed a fat Bull and took out the hump and went down a Steep hill to git to water where we broiled the hump and eat a hearty meal of it. went on passed the lower high falls of Neagra [Niagara]. all these falls measured and added together is 300 60 [360] odd feet in hight, and is a great Site to See them.<sup>2</sup> I proceeded on to the mouth of willow Creek a hard Shower of rain and hail came on of a Sudden So I got under a Shelving rock on one Side of the creek where a [I] kept dry through the hardest of it. hard thunder. large hail the creek rose So high in a fiew minutes that I had to move from the dry place and proceeded on. the wind blew So high that the hail cut verry hard against me and I could hardly keep my feet. the rain has made it so muddy and Slippery, but we arived at the lower Camp a little before night the party had arived a little before, with the truck wheels look[s] likely for more rain, So I and one man more went and Slept in the carsh a hole which was dug to deposit Some baggage in which

<sup>1</sup> This is the spring which had been discovered by Clark on June 18. He supposed it to be the largest in America. Neither Lewis nor Clark mention this trip of Ordway and his companions. Whitehouse explains its occasion: "Sergt. Ordway and three men went down by the River to See the falls and Spring &c." The fountain is now known as Great Spring. Wheeler, writing a decade ago, describes it as 300 to 100 feet wide, with a discharge of 680 cubic feet of water per second. A report made in 1860 places the temperature of the spring water at 53° and that of the river at 70°.

<sup>2</sup> The total descent of the river for a distance of ten miles, from the first rapid to the foot of the Great Falls is 412½ feet. The Great Falls has a sheer drop of 75½ feet. Coues, II, 385.





GREAT FALLS, MONTANA, "THE PRINCIPAL CASCADE OF THE MISSOURI"

From the Dublin, 1847, reprint of the *Biddle History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*



we intend to leave. cloudy all night. Some buffalow came down the River dead.

June 28<sup>th</sup> Friday 1805. a fair morning. wind from the South. we Set out with the remaining canoe and baggage [and] took it to the top of the hill three miles. the men who remained at the camp was employed carrying those things we intend to deposite to the whole or carsh. Some repairing one of the trucks & C. the water is riseing and of a redish brown cholour. after covering the cashe or whole, and loading the 2 carriages with the remaining part of the Baggage, we all Set out passing red creek<sup>1</sup> which had rose a little and the water nearly red and bad tasteed. we ascended the hill to the place the canoe lay with great labour, at the canoe at which place we left some boxes & kegs of pork & flower for another load, and proceeded on with the canoe and what baggage we could draw on the wheels to willow run 6 miles where we camped. this run nearly dry some water remaining in wholes. Soon after we halted, we had a Shower and at dark we experienced a most dreadful wind from off the Snow Mountains to the S. W. accompanied with rain which lasted nearly all night. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark refreshed the men with a dram. killed 2 buffalow great numbers about this run

June 29<sup>th</sup> Satturday 1805. a little rain verry earily this morning after [which it was] clear & warm we find that the prarie is so wet as to render it impossable to pass on to the end of the portage, So Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Sent all back except one man to take care of the baggage after the remainder which was left yesterday on the hill. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Set out to go to the falls at the Same time his Servant Intrepter and Squaw accompanied them. I went with the party for the remainder of the baggage. we got all and was returning. Saw a black cloud rise in the west which we looked for emediate rain we made all the haste possable but had not got half way before the Shower met us and our hind extletree broke in two. We were obledged to leave the load Standing and ran in great confusion to Camp the hail being so large and the wind so high and violent in the plains, and we being naked<sup>2</sup> we were much bruuzed by the large hail. Some nearly killed one knocked down three times, and others without hats or any thing about their heads bleeding and complained verry much. Soon after we had got all Safe to

<sup>1</sup> Portage Creek of the explorers; modern Belt Creek.

<sup>2</sup> On account of the heat and the excessive toil the men were working practically naked.

the run [it] cleared off. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & them that went with him returned Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark informed us that when he Saw the Shower comming he looked out for Some Shelter about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile above the falls he observed a deep reeven in which was Shelving rocks under which they took Shelter near the river and placed their [guns] and compass &C. &C. under a Shelving rock in a place verry secure from rain the first Shower was moderate to them then a torrent of rain fell and hail [more] violent than they ever Saw before. the rain fell like one voley of water falling from the heavens and gave them time only to git out of the way of a torrent of water, which was poreing down the hill with amence force tareing every thing before it, taking with it huge rocks and mud. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark took his gun and Shot pouch in his left hand and with his right he Scrambled up the hill pushing the Intrepters wife who had hir child in hir arms. the intrepter himself makeing attempts to pull up his wife by the hand much Scared and narely without motion, at length reached the top of the hill Safe,<sup>1</sup> where Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark found his servant york who was in search of them greatly agitated, for their well fare. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark informed me when he went in to the reveene it was a flat dry rock, but before he got out of it, it was up to his waist so he wet his watch, lost the large Compass, an elegant purse, tommahawk, an Humbrello [umbrella] Shot pouch & horn with powder and ball mockinsons and the woman lost hir childs Cloaths & bear bedding & C & C. The Compass is a seerious loss, as we have no other large one. the plains are So wet that we could doe nothing this evéning. we got revived with a dram of grog and got some warm Soup and took our rest.

June 30<sup>th</sup> Sunday 1805 a fair morning. we went after the remaining Baggage left in the plains. 2 men went to the falls to look for the Compass & C. 2 men went out to hunt. about 4 oClock the hunters came in loaded with fat meat the men returned with the baggage ecty 4 men set at makeing axltle trees and repair the carriages & C. this run has fallen a little. last evening it was up to a mans waist at the crossing place where it was dry before the Showers, and verry riley and bad tasted. Some took the Baggage up the hill the 2 men in Search of the articles lost yesterday returned and brought the Compass which they found in the mud and Stones near the mouth of the reveene. no other

<sup>1</sup> "one moment longer & it would have swept them into the river just above the great cataract of 87 feet where they must have inevitably perished." Lewis.

articles found. one man killed an Elk. at 12 oClock we Set out with a load to the 6 mile Stake and return[ed] this evening. we intend takeing the remainder through to the upper Camp tomorrow if the prarie will permit. at 3 oClock we had a Storm of wind from S. W. after which a fair evening great numbers of buffalow in every direction I think 10000 may be Seen at one view.

July 1<sup>st</sup> Monday 1805. we Set out eairly this morning. with the remaining loads and proceeded on verry well to Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewiss Camp where we arived at 3 oClock the day warm and party much fatigued found Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and party all employed in fitting the Iron boat & C. the wind hard from the S. W. one man verry unwell his legs & thighs broke out and Swelled. the hail which fell at Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Camp was 7 Inches in Surcumerfence and weighed 3 ounces. fortunately for us it was not so large in the plains where we was if it had we Should most certainly [have] fallen victims to its rage as the most of the men were without hats or any thing on their heads and mostly naked. the hunters at the upper Camp killed 3 White bear one large the fore feet of which measured 9 Inches across. the head [hind] feet 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  Inches long and 7 Inches wide. a bear [came] nearly catching Joseph Fields chased him in to the water. bear about about the Camp every night, and Seen on the Island in the day.<sup>1</sup>

July 2<sup>nd</sup> Tuesday 1805. Some rain at day light this morning after which a fair morning we Set out eairly with the truck wagons for the kegs and boxes & C left at the Six mile Stake. the men at camp Set at gitting timber & C for the Boats Musquetoes verry troublesome to day. we went to the 6 mile Stake and got the remander of our loading & C [and] returned back. Saw buffalow as usal; one hunter killed 3 buffalow and one antelope

<sup>1</sup> Ordway here records some of the events at the upper camp during the preceding days. The large bear, the measurements of whose feet are given, was killed by the strategy of Fields and Drewyer on June 27. For the story see Lewis' journal. The narrow escape of Fields from another grizzly occurred two days earlier. While hunting elk, alone, he came upon two grizzlies. In stalking them for an opportunity to shoot he "stumbled upon" a third, which promptly charged him from a distance of a few steps. With equal promptness Fields exchanged the rôle of hunter for that of the hunted and running to the river near by jumped over the steep bank, alighting on a stony bar below. The fall cut and bruised him and disabled his gun, but the intervening bank now concealed him from the bear's sight and the beast gave up the chase. It was Fields who on June 4 was so hotly pursued by a grizzly that it "struck his foot." On recording his second narrow escape (June 25) Lewis observes that he has been "truly unfortunate" with the grizzlies.

in a few minutes we arrived at Camp about 2 o'clock and rejoiced that we have got through such a laborious & fatiguing portage. The day warm the men put their fire arms in good order and towards evening the most of the hunters with the 2 Captains went over on an Island to hunt bear they killed one and saved the skin and grease. the Musketoes troublesome this evening.

July 3<sup>rd</sup> Wednesday 1805. a clear pleasant warm morning. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass and 4 men set out to go down the River and take a view of the falls and Big Spring & C. the men at Camp employed some at making tar or pitch for the Boat others putting the leather on it & C. we overhauled the baggage and killed a large curious kind of a rat with hair on his tail.<sup>1</sup> the mice are plenty also. light sprinklings of rain in the afternoon. we fixed scaffolds [scaffolds] and put our bags & C from the ground, & a little more from the rats & mice & C. Some men sowing the leather on the Iron boat. the men not otherwise directed are dressing skins to make themselves mockins as they have worn them all out in the plains one pair of good mockins will not last more than about 2 days. will wear holes in them for the first day and patch them for the next. George Drewyer one of Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis hunters at the upper Camp killed 2 large handsome otter and three beaver. 2 men went out a short distance that evening and killed a fat buffalo. Some men out for meat & C. the 2 men returned from the falls and had killed 6 buffalo, and saved only the tongues, & brains for to dress skins. we got the leather on the Iron boat in 8 separate sections & put them in the water to soak 2 men attempting to burn a small tar kiln.

July 4<sup>th</sup> Thursday 1805. a beautiful clear pleasant warm morning. the most of the men employed putting the sections of the Iron boat together & C. one of the hunters went on bear Island a short time and killed an Elk and a beaver. we saved the skins and some of the meat. we finished putting the Iron boat together and turned her on one side to dry. it being the 4<sup>th</sup> of Independence we drank the last of our ardent spirits except a little reserved for sickness. the fiddle put in order and the party amused themselves dancing all the evening until about 10 o'clock in a sivel & jovial

<sup>1</sup> "This Rocky Mountain rat, *Montana cinerea*, was first described by Lewis. Its technical name was not assigned until 1815." Thwaites, II, 205, note. Lewis devotes more space to describing the rat (which was killed July 2) than he does to the bear hunt on the island.

manner. late in the evening we had a light Shower of rain but did not last long.

July 5<sup>th</sup> Friday 1805. a clear pleasant morning. 3 men Set out to go down to see the falls & C a gang of buffalow seen on the hills Some distance from Camp. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 12 men went out to attempt to kill Some of them but we could not git near them before they Smelled us and ran off Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and some of the men then returned to Camp the rest went after another gangue toward the South Mountain. towards evening they all came in had killed 3 buffalow 4 miles from this. they brought in Some meat and Skins. the 3 men returned from the falls & had killed Several buffalow might have killed hundreds if they had wished where they were pened under high clifts of rocks at the falls. they went So close among them as to reach them with the muzzle of their guns, & C. they brought home Several tongues & Some brains, but had not time to take care of their meat & Skins & C.

July 6<sup>th</sup> Saturday 1805. verry hard Showers of rain and hail through the course of last night, hard Thunder & lightning, at day light this morning a hard Shower came up of a Sudden attended with high wind, & large hail one of the men Saved a Small tin kittle full of the hail which did not all dissolve through the day. the morning cloudy. 4 men dispatched with 2 canoes to go down to the head of the falls in order to kill buffalow buffalow & git Skins to cover our crafts & meat to dry & C. Some men employed finishing the Iron boat & C. a part of the day clear. light Showers of rain in the afternoon. Some men dressing Skins to make themselves cloaths & C. the wind high from the west. this evening the hunters did not return this evening (caught a few Small fish).

July 7<sup>th</sup> Sunday 1805. a clear pleasant morning. one man caught a beaver last night. two hunters set out across the river eairly in order to hunt Elk for 1 or 2 Skins & C. we finished off the Iron boat and put hir up in an open place to dry & C. the day warm. in the afternoon Some Thunder the musquetoes troublesome at this Camp a light Shower of rain. about 4 oClock the hunters returned. had killed Several buffalow and buffalow calfs one Elk and Several wolves. they brought in the Skins which will answer to cover our crafts & C. the 2 hunters returned from the other shore. had killed 4 Deer & one ante-lope.

July 8<sup>th</sup> Monday 1805. a clear pleasant morning one man went across the river a hunting early this morning about 9 o'clock A. M. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and all the men that could be Spared from Camp Set out to go down the river a hunting down past the falls and Spring & C. the men that remained in Camp employed in paying over the outside of the Iron boat with coal Tallow and bare wax in Stead of pitch.<sup>1</sup> we went about 6 miles through the plains then went to the big Spring. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark measured the width of the River at the Spring and middle falls and found it to be [blank in Ms.] yards wide at the Spring and [blank in Ms.] yards wide at the middle falls.<sup>2</sup> in the afternoon we all returned to Camp had killed Several buffalow one of which was fat. killed 1 or 2 antelope and a curious yallow fox. and Several rattle Snakes. towards evening the hunter returned from across the river had killed one buck Deer and a buck antelope & C. Some Thunder and light Showers this afternoon The River falling. The Musquetoes troublesome.

July 9<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 1805. a beautiful pleasant morning. the Island near the Camp is covered with black birds. we put the Iron boat which we covered with green hides in to the water. Corked Some of the canoes in order to git in readiness to depart from this place in the afternoon we loaded the 6 canoes but did not load the Iron boat as it leaked considerable soo[n] after we got the canoes loaded Thunder and high wind came on So that we had to unload again. our officers concluded for to leave & burry the Iron boat, as we cannot git tar or pitch to pay thē[m] over the out Side of the Skins. the coal Tallow & bear wax would not stick to the hides as they were Shaved the time is So far expended that they did not think proper to try any more experiments with it. So we Sank hir in the water So that She might be the easier took to peaces tomorrow.<sup>3</sup> our officers conclude to

<sup>1</sup> Lewis had first planned to distill tar with which to caulk the boat. This effort having failed he now had recourse to a composition of charcoal, beeswax, and buffalo tallow.

<sup>2</sup> Clark gives 270 yards as the width of the river at the spring, and 473 yards at the "Handsome falls."

<sup>3</sup> With "hir" sank one of Lewis' most dearly cherished hopes. On the iron boat he had builded great expectations. His journal for this period is full of details concerning the enterprise, and his hopes and fears in connection therewith. His delight must have been great, therefore, to find that the boat, which was named the "Experiment," when launched, "lay like a perfect cork on the water." But a sudden storm delayed the departure. When it had ceased Lewis' joy over his boat had turned to mortification, for the skins would



build 2 canoes more So that we can carry all our baggage without the Iron boat. about 10 men got ready to [go] up the river to build 2 canoes.

July 10<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 1805. a clear morning. we took the Iron boat out of the River and loaded 4 canoes one of which was [reserved for] the men baggage & tools who were going to make canoes. we Set out eairly, with the canoes.<sup>1</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and about 10 men Set out to go by land after we set them over the river. it is only about 5 miles by land to the bottom where they git the timber for the canoes and it is about 20 miles round by water. we proceeded on with the canoes 5 or 6 miles then the wind arose so high that we were oblidged to lay by untill towards evening. we passed 2 Islands covered with cotton and box elder also choak cherrys & yellow currents which are now ripe. halted near a village of bearking Squerrells. one of the hunters killed one of them on the N. S. late in the afternoon the wind abated a little So we proceeded on within about 3 miles of the upper Camp and halted for the night in a grove of cottonwood high banks of Sand along this Shore on N. S. we killed a large rattle Snake near our Camp.

July 11<sup>th</sup> Thursday 1805. a clear morning. the wind verry high from the N. W. which oblidged us to lay at Camp untill late in the afternoon, except the Canoe which had the baggage and tools. they went on to Camp 2 men went by land to the Camp & got Some meat. towards evening the wind abated So that we went on and arived at Cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks Camp at Sunset, and unloaded. the hunters had killed 2 fat buffalow and Several Deer. we took on board Some fat meat and 4 of us Set out with 3 canoes to return back to the other Camp for the remainder of the baggage & C. we floated about 8 miles and the wind rose so high that [it] drove us to Shore so we landed untill morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and party had got 2 fine trees<sup>2</sup> cut for 2 canoes & ready to dig out.

not retain the composition which had been substituted for pitch, and "she leaked in such manner that she would not answer." Notwithstanding that "in every other respect" she completely answered his most sanguine expectations, this was a fatal defect, and Lewis was regretfully forced to "bid adieu to my boat and her expected services."

<sup>1</sup> Ordway was placed in charge of the party which thus went by water.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis gives a less favorable estimate of the trees. "one proved to be hollow and split in falling at the upper part and was somewhat windshaken at bottom; the other proved to be much windshaken." Clark "surches the bottom for better but could not find any."

July 12<sup>th</sup> Friday 1805. a clear morning. the wind as usual. we proceeded on down the wind rose so high that one canoe filled with water the other 2 took in water the waves high but with difficulty we got down to Camp about noon the men at Camp had killed 2 buffalow and put the Irons of the Iron boat and other articles in the ground. Several men had Set out this morning for to join Cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks party. we scuffled up what meat we had to dry. the wind continues verry high all day.

July 13<sup>th</sup> Saturday 1805. clear and calm this morning. we loaded the canoes eairly and Set out with all the remainder of our baggage for the upper Camp. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis a sick man<sup>1</sup> & our Intrepters wife went across by land which is only about 6 miles distant by land and 20 by water we proceeded on verry well with the canoes about 5 miles. the wind rose so high that 2 of the canoes took water. it oblidged us to halt and dry our baggage. the wind continued untill towards evening. then abated a little and we proceeded on about 7 miles and Camped. the Musquetoes verry troublesome in the evening.

July 14<sup>th</sup> Sunday 1805. the morning clear and pleasant. we Set out eairly and proceeded on very well passed 3 Islands covered with timber and arived at the upper Camp about noon. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and party at Camp had got the 2 large canoes nearly done. we unloaded the canoes, and put the large new one in the River about 4 oClock P.M. we expearenced a Small Shower of rain. warm the Musquetoes verry troublesome we put the other new canoe in to the River and make ready to leave this [place] tomorrow. we have considerable of fat buffalow meat dried, which the hunters killed at or near this Camp. the weeds and Grass in this bottom is as high as a mans knees but the Grass on the high plains & praries is not more than 3 Inches high no time in this Season.

<sup>1</sup> Baptiste Lepage.

## CHAPTER IX

### FROM THE GREAT FALLS TO THE GREAT DIVIDE, JULY 15—AUGUST 17, 1805

July 15<sup>th</sup> Monday 1805. rained the greater part of last night. a clear morning. the wind high from the N. W. we loaded the canoes and could hardly find room in them for all our baggage. about 10 o'clock A.M. we Set out<sup>1</sup> with the 8 canoes and all our baggage and proceeded on verry well. passed a large creek or Small River<sup>2</sup> on the S. Side. passed Several Islands covered with cotton timber. fine pleasant bottoms & plains on each side of the river. the current verry gentle & river Smoth Since we left the falls. our officers and a hunter who walked on Shore killed two Elk and 2 Deer also an otter. we Came about 26 miles by water to day and Camped on the N. S. of the River.<sup>3</sup>

July 16<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 1805. a clear pleasant morning. I went about 4 miles back down the River after an axe forgot last evening. the party proceeded on with the canoes. we passed a round hill on N. S. which at a distance look[ed] like a large fort or fortification. so we called it fort mountain.<sup>4</sup> passed a large creek on s. s.<sup>5</sup> Saw large Indian Camps on N. S. back of the bottom in the edge of the Smooth plains. the hunters killed 2 buffalow. I Saw verry large gangs of buffalow on the plains under the rocky

<sup>1</sup> "much to my joy and I beleive that of every individual who compose the party." Lewis. Lewis was impatient over the delay which the party had encountered at the portage, and on June 30 the conviction is expressed "that we shall not reach Fort Mandan again this season if we even return from the ocean to the Snake Indians." In fact 13½ months were to elapse before the explorers again saw Fort Mandan.

<sup>2</sup> Named Smith's River in honor of Robert Smith, secretary of the navy. It rises in southern Meagher County and flows in a general northerly direction. It is still known by the name which Lewis and Clark gave it.

<sup>3</sup> In Cascade County, 3¾ miles below the mouth of Little Muddy Creek.

<sup>4</sup> Identified by Coues (II, 413) as modern Square Butte, a short distance south of Fort Shaw. It is "an entirely isolated, mesa-like formation which rises to the height of 4600 feet."

<sup>5</sup> Bird Creek, three miles above Little Muddy Creek, which Ordway omits to mention.

mountains, which we are now approaching. in the afternoon I joined the party. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and 2 men was gone on a head.<sup>1</sup> the current swift towards evening we Came 20 miles this day and Camped near the entrence of the Rocky Mountain[s],<sup>2</sup> which appear verry high & rocky. Some pine & C.

July 17<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 1805. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and the two men Stayed out all last night. a clear morning. we Set out at Sunrise & proceeded on about 4 miles. Came to a verry bad rapid<sup>3</sup> where we found Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & the 2 men. the Mountains make close to the River on each side. we left Some articles and doubled maned the canoes and [brought] them all over [the rapid] safe which was about half a mile long, & roled white over the rocks, but by the assistance of the towing lines we got up all the canoes without Injury. Sent back for the other articles. passed a large Spring jst above the rapids which heads about half a mile above or back under the mountain on Lar<sup>d</sup> Side. proceeded on. the mountains make close to the River & verry steep high pricipicies about 700 feet from the Surface of the water perpinticular & a solid rock. Some Spots of pine and balsam fir timbers & narrow bottoms on the points and high grass & C. Some willow & currents of different kinds. the current Swift. the River about 100 yards wide. we Came 11 miles this day and Camped on the Starbord Side in a narrow bottom.<sup>4</sup> a little cotton timber.

July 18<sup>th</sup> Thursday 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we Saw Mountain Sheep or Ibex on the top of a high Steep pricipice. they ran along the rocks where it was all most perpenticular and about 200 feet from the Surface of the water. we set out at sun rise and proceeded on about 3 miles passed the mouth of a river on the N. S. about 100 yards wide at its mouth.<sup>5</sup> one mile further Cap<sup>t</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of journeying to the point where the river enters the Rockies and there making the necessary observations pending the arrival of the main party.

<sup>2</sup> Coues locates the camp "above St. Clair and Cascade, past Knapp creek, and about opposite Chestnut." I do not find Chestnut on the maps before me. The camp was some three or four miles below Hardy.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Halfbreed Rapids, just above Hardy.

<sup>4</sup> Near the boundary of Cascade County, 2½ miles below the mouth of Dearborn River.

<sup>5</sup> They named it Dearborn, in honor of Jefferson's secretary of war, Gen. Henry Dearborn. Two years earlier his name had also been given to a small stockade fort at the southern end of Lake Michigan. The name of Dearborn River still persists. Had the General's name clung with equal tenacity to the other spot, the second city of the New World would now be Dearborn instead of Chicago.

Clark killed an Elk. Saw Several others. we Saw a flock of mountain Rams on the Side of a hill which had large horns.<sup>1</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark his Servant and 2 other men set out to go 1 or 2 days march a head to make discoveries &C.<sup>2</sup> we proceeded on verry well with the canoes. towards evening we passed a River<sup>3</sup> which came in on N. S. about 60 yards wide. the mountains continues but not So high as yesterday. we Came 19½ miles and Camped in a narrow bottom on the Larbord Side<sup>4</sup> considerable of fine flax in this bottom now going to Seed. we found a Deer Skin and Some meat which Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark had killed.

July 19<sup>th</sup> Friday 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we Set out as usual. and proceeded on. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and one hunter walked on Shore & Shortly killed a cabberee or antelope we took on board the Skin and some of the meat. the current Swift. the Mountains high. Some Spots of pine ceeder, and balsom. fir trees & C. one of the men killed an otter with a socket pole they are pleanty & C. Some beaver also along these mountains. passed the mouth of a Small River<sup>5</sup> on the South Side. in the afternoon we passed through a verry high part of the Mountain,

<sup>1</sup> This rather startling statement might well pass without comment did it not stand for a type of grammatical error more than once indulged in by Ordway. It is evident that our explorers were more familiar with toil and hardship than they were with the precepts of English grammar.

<sup>2</sup> The advance party was composed of Captain Clark, York, Potts, and Joseph Fields. Ordway's "&c" conceals a matter charged with the deepest importance for the issue of the expedition. If it was to succeed, the friendship and aid of the Snake, or Shoshoni Indians must be gained. Largely because of her expected assistance to this end Sacajawea had been brought along. But, although signs of them had been noted, no Shoshoni had thus far been encountered. Lewis states that Clark's party was sent in advance "in order to discover them, should they be on the river before the daily discharge of our guns, which was necessary in procuring subsistence for the party, should allarm and cause them to retreat to the mountains and conceal themselves, supposing us to be their enemies, who visit them usually by the way of this river."

<sup>3</sup> With commendable modesty Ordway omits to record the fact that this stream was named in his honor. Unfortunately for his fame, however, it appears on modern maps as Little Prickly Pear Creek. The Great Northern Railway, running from Helena to Great Falls, follows its bed for a considerable distance. "Some of its ties," says Coues, "are laid in the very foot-prints of the great pioneer."

<sup>4</sup> In the vicinity of Holter, 5½ miles above the mouth of Little Prickly Pear Creek.

<sup>5</sup> Cottonwood Creek, in Lewis and Clark County.

which is Steep on each Side & about 6 or 700 feet<sup>1</sup> perpendicular up from the Surface of the water & a Solid rock this curious looking place we call the gates of the Rocky Mountains.<sup>2</sup> Several fine Springs Issues from under cliffs or in m<sup>d</sup> near the edge of the River. about one oClock P. M. we had a Thunder Shower which lasted about one hour a little hail attended it. Saw some spots of pine Spruce ceeder and balsom fir timber on the Sides of the Mo<sup>n</sup> and in the vallies & C. we Came 19 miles this day through verry rapid water & Camped on a narrow bottom on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side.<sup>3</sup>

July 20<sup>th</sup> Saturday 1805. a clear morning we set out as usual and proceeded on. about 8 oClock A M we Came to a lower part of the Mountain. one of the hunters killed an Elk in a bottom on L. S. we find plenty of ripe currents of different kinds red yellow and black. the black is the most palatable. Some of the hunters find an excelent berry which is called Servis berrys. we found the Skin of an Elk & a note which Cap<sup>t</sup> [Clark] had left for us, letting us know that he would wait our arival after he got over the Mountain. passed a Small creek on the L. S.<sup>4</sup> about 2 oC. P. M. we got through this range of Mo<sup>n</sup> Saw another range some distance off on our course. Saw a Smoak in the valley between. we cannot determine whether is [it] was made by the natives or Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark. passed a level Smooth plain in the valley. Some timber Scatering along the River. Came 15 miles this day and Camped at a Spring on the L. S.<sup>5</sup> the prickley pears are so thick we scarsely could find room to camp without being on them.

July 21<sup>st</sup> Sunday 1805. a clear morning. we Set out as usual and proceeded on. Saw a number of large Swans. Some of the

<sup>1</sup> Twelve hundred feet, according to Lewis. Since reaching Dearborn River (July 18) the party has been traversing the Big Belt Mountains.

<sup>2</sup> Still known by this name. Lewis endeavors to describe the scenic wonders of the place. In Wheeler's opinion (I, 350) he fails, however, to do his subject justice. "I have made two trips exploring the recesses and enjoying the glories of the Gates of the Mountains," writes the latter, "and I can vouch for almost any description that can be written of this cañon—it would be hard to say too much."

<sup>3</sup> The camp was half a mile below Cone Rock, near the 2,445 mile point of the river.

<sup>4</sup> Shown on the M. R. C. map as Beaver Creek.

<sup>5</sup> "Near El Dorado, about twelve miles northeast of Helena." Thwaites, II, 252, note 1.

men killed two of them. passed a small creek on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side<sup>1</sup> and one on the Starbord Side.<sup>2</sup> the grass in the valley and on the hills look dry and parched up. passed a hill & cliffs of rocks in the afternoon the River divides in many channels and full of Islands and Spreads about a mile wide. the current Swift. our hunter on shore killed a deer. we Came 15½ miles this day and Camped on a Smooth plain on the Larbord Side.<sup>3</sup> the party in general are much fatigued.

July 22<sup>nd</sup> Monday 1805. a clear morning. we Set out as usual and proceeded on passed large Islands mostly covered with grass Some few trees. the currents Still abound. Some of the canoes I being [in] one went 5 miles behind an Island through a verry narrow crooked channel. these large Islands are mostly level Smooth plain. one of the hunters killed a deer. about 2 oC. P. M. we halted to dine on the N. or Star<sup>d</sup> Side then went on Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis forgot his Thurmometer where we dined I went back for it. it Stood in the heat of the day at 80 degrees ab<sup>o</sup> 0, which has only been up to that point but once before this Season as yet. we went on took a narrow channel behind some Islands and at Camping time I came out a head of the party nearly a mile. then went down to Camp.<sup>4</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark had joined them, and his men who were with him. they had seen a great deal of Indian sign the fire we saw was made by the natives. perhaps they were alarmed by our Shouting so at the game and moved off. our Intrepters wife tells us that She knows the country along the River up to hir nation, or the 3 forks. we are now 166 miles from the falls of the M.<sup>5</sup> Came 17 miles of it to day.

July 23<sup>rd</sup> Tuesday 1805. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 3 men set out again in order to go on to the 3 forks of the River expecting to find the Snake nation at that place. a little cloudy. the Musketoes verry troublesome. we proceeded on as usual. passed level smooth plains on each side. pass<sup>d</sup> a Small creek<sup>6</sup> on L. Side.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Soup Creek at the 2,459 mile point of the river.

<sup>2</sup> Named in honor of Sergeant Pryor. Coues identifies it as modern Mitchell Creek.

<sup>3</sup> In the southeastern corner of Lewis and Clark County, a short distance above Canyon Ferry.

<sup>4</sup> The camp was in Broadwater County, 2¾ miles above the mouth of Beaver Creek. This stream the explorers named White Earth Creek.

<sup>5</sup> About 155 miles, according to the M. R. C. map, from the upper or Great Fall.

<sup>6</sup> Named by Lewis in honor of Whitehouse. Wheeler identifies it as either modern Confederate or Duck Creek, the two flowing into the Missouri almost

passed a number of Islands. considerable of good flax now fit to pull in the praries & bottoms. the Thissels plenty. the pine continues on the sides of the hills. our hunter who stayed out last night joined us at noon had killed several deer. we dried some articles which got wet in the canoes. we hoisted up our flags expecting the natives would see them & know the meaning of them. the current verry Swift. we Came 24 miles this day & Camped on the Larbord Side.<sup>1</sup> we find plenty of wild Inions or what some calls leeks, or garlick. we gathered a quantity of them to eat.

July 24<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 1805. a clear pleasant morning we set out at sun rise and proceeded on. the current Swift. we found a goat or antelopes Skin which Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed and left for us. we passed a redish clift of rocks on Star<sup>d</sup> Side in the afternoon we passed a large plain on the Stard Side, the prickley pears abound on it Saw otter and beaver in great abundance & C. the Swift water continues some bad rapids which it is with difficulty we passed over them. Saw many different kinds of Snakes along the Shores. we Came 19½ miles this day and Camped on the Stard. Side.<sup>2</sup> one deer killed to day. a white bear seen. considerable of Elk sign & C.

July 25<sup>th</sup> Thursday 1805. a clear morning. we set out as usual and proceeded on. Saw a large white bear on an Island. we Saw a flock of goats or antelopes one of the hunters killed one them. we passed a Camp where Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark had stayed all night. we discover Mountains a head which have Spots of Snow on them. passed a large dry plain on S. Side, in the afternoon we passed high rough rocky hills & clifts of rocks. at the entrence we found bad rapids, and Shallow rocks sticking up all the way across. Saw excelent Springs along the Shore on Larbord Side. Saw Some excelent Springs, which ran from under the clifts of

together. Confederate Creek is said to have been discovered by some soldiers from General Price's army, who in 1861 fled up the Missouri River. A few miles above its mouth was located, in 1865, Confederate Gulch, and the mining town of Diamond City.

<sup>1</sup> Coues locates the camp "below Bedford." Lewis' measurements for the day would place it in the vicinity of Townsend. In any event it was in central Broadwater County.

<sup>2</sup> "our trio of pests still invade and obstruct us on all occasions, these are the Musketoes eye knats and prickley pears, equal to any three curses that ever poor Egypt laiboured under, except the Mahometant yoke." Lewis. Coues places the camp past Greyson's Creek and near Dry Creek.



rocks.<sup>1</sup> Came 16 miles this day and Camped on the Stard Side.<sup>2</sup> our hunters killed one goose which was all the game killed to day.

July 26<sup>th</sup> Friday 1805. a clear morning. we set out as usual and proceeded on. the current verry swift. Saw Several Springs along the Shore. one of the party killed a large beaver. plenty of those animals along the Islands and Shores. Saw Some pine & ceeder timber also Some cotton timber passed cliffs of rocks on each Side of the River the hills make off lower. we can discover high mountains a head, with Snow on them The River wide and full of Islands. passed over Several bad rapids. our hunter on Shore killed 4 deer. we found an Indians bow in a plain on L. S. took on board a deer skin which Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark had left on Shore for us. also a note letting us know that he had seen no Indians, but had Seen fresh Sign of horses & C. we Came 19 miles this day, and Camped on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side.<sup>3</sup> the party found Servis berrys to day & C.

July 27<sup>th</sup> Saturday 1805. a clear morning. we Set off as usual and proceeded on. the current Swift as usual. passed cliffs of rocks. villages of little birds under the Shelveing rocks. the hills not so high as below. the currents abound along the Shores. about 9 oClock we arived at the three forks of the Missourie,<sup>4</sup> which is in open view of the high Mountains covered in some places with Snow. Saw large flocks of Mountain Sheep or Ibex and antelopes & C. on the plain. we passed the South & west forks, and Camped at an old Indian Camp on the point a Short distance up the North fork.<sup>5</sup> this is a handsom pleasant plain considerable of cotton timber about the points of the forks. we unloaded the canoes. Several men went out in the bottoms to hunt. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark joined us and the men who were with him. he informed us that he had been about 40 miles up the West

<sup>1</sup> These form the Mammoth Spring of the present time. Wheeler.

<sup>2</sup> A mile above Mammoth Spring, in the vicinity of Lombard, in southern Broadwater County.

<sup>3</sup> At "a rock in the center of a Larb<sup>d</sup> bend opposite to 2 Islds." Lewis. According to Wheeler this is modern Eagle Rock, ten miles above the mouth of Sixteen Mile Creek.

<sup>4</sup> Named Gallatin, Madison, and Jefferson rivers, in honor of President Jefferson and his secretary of state (James Madison) and secretary of the treasury (Albert Gallatin). The names thus given by the explorers, 110 years ago, still persist.

<sup>5</sup> The "south" and "west" forks of Ordway are, respectively, Gallatin and Madison rivers. The "north" fork is Jefferson River. The camp was pitched a mile up Jefferson from its confluence with Madison River.

fork and over to the North fork and came down that to the forks.<sup>1</sup> they had killed several deer antelopes and a cub bear. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark very unwell. he had Seen a large elegant horse in the plains which appeared to be very wild. the hunters killed Several or 6 deer, and 3 otter and a musk rat. we had a Shower of rain this afternoon. came 7 m<sup>ls</sup> to day, which brought us to this Camp where we intend to rest a day or two.<sup>2</sup> we expected to have found the Snake nation of Indians at this place, but as we expect they are further up the River, or perhaps they are gone over the mountains to the Columbian River on the other side to fish & C. this is the place where our Intrepters wife was taken prisoner by the Grossvauntars, about 4 years ago, & C.

July 28<sup>th</sup> Sunday 1805. a foggy morning, but clear after. Several men went out a hunting. we put out the baggage to air. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Sick. we built a bower for his comfort. the party though much fatigued are engaged dressing Skins to make themselves cloaths and mockasons & C. towards evening the hunters all returned had killed 7 or 8 deer and 2 Elk. Some of the buck deer were fat. one of the hunters who had been up the South [Gallatin] fork a Short distance, and found it not so large as the West [Madison] & N. [Jefferson] forks. we conclude to proceed up the North fork to the Mountains. towards evening we had a fine Shower of rain. Some Thunder attended it which cooled the air very much. the men at Camp all employed dressing their Skins & C. rushes along here.

July 29<sup>th</sup> Monday 1805. a clear pleasant morning. Several men went out eairly a hunting we conclude to lay at this Camp all day & C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark a little better. the day warm. the wind from the east. The Latitude at this place is  $45^{\circ} 22^m 34^s \frac{5}{10}$  North. the width of the three Rivers at the forks we alow the North fork to be about 60 y<sup>ds</sup> wide the middle fork about the Same the South fork not So wide nor large. all appear rapid but not very deep. towards evening the hunters returned had killed 2 or 3 fat bucks deer, and caught a curious redish couloured long leged crain which they brought in a live, and it ran about the Camp Some time & C.

<sup>1</sup> Ordway's method of designating the several affluent streams is not entirely free from confusion. Clark had ascended Jefferson River, and, crossing thence to Madison, had descended the latter stream.

<sup>2</sup> "believing this to be an essential point in the geography of this western part of the Continent I determined to remain at all events untill I obtained the necessary data for fixing its latitude Longitude &c." Lewis.

July 30<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 1805. a fine pleasant morning. we loaded all the canoes eairly and Set out about 9 oClock A. M. and proceeded on up the North fork Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and Several Inveleeds walked on Shore. we passed large bottoms covered with cotten timber & thick brush willow & C. the River crooked rapid and full of Islands & C. a bundance of beaver & beaver dams along these these bottoms. thee currents of different kinds abound in these bottoms. we dined at a Camp where the Snake Indians had been camped 4 years ago, and was aatacted by the Gross vauntars. 2 or three of the Snake nation was killed, and Several Squaws taken prisoners our Intrepters wife was one of them. She tells us that she was taken in the middle of the River as She was crossing at a Shole place to make hir ascape. the rest all mounted their horses and cleared themselves as they do not wish to fite, neither were they Strong enofe for the Grossvauntares, one of the hunters on Shore killed a Deer. we proceeded on passed a verry large plain or prarie on L. S. considerable of fine good flax on it, also wild onions or garlick. passed high land on S. Side we Came 13½ miles this day and Camped on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side<sup>1</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis did not join us this evening. these bottoms along the River are low and many beaver dams which causes ponds in many places & C.

July 31<sup>st</sup> Wednesday 1805. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Stayed out all last night. a fine morning. we set off at sunrise and proceeded on as usal. the current Swift. about 8 oClock A. M. we came up with with Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis where he Camped all last night. proceeded on passed the mouth of a creek<sup>2</sup> on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side, the water of which is of a redish coulour, and is damed up in many places by the beaver, and runs through a beautiful prarie and bottom of Small timber. the beaver verry pleanty along these bottoms. the River filled with Islands. passed a large plain or prarie on L. S. covered with fine grass Tanzey flax and thissels, wild onions or garlick & C. considerable of cotton timber along the River bottoms, but no timber back in the country the hills begin to make near the River on each Sides. we dined under a handsom Shady grove of cotton timber under the hills of the Mountains to our left which has heaps of Snow on the top & sides of it. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Saw a Mountain Sheep thro. [his] glass on a hill towards the

<sup>1</sup> In southeastern Jefferson County, about a mile below the mouth of modern Willow Creek.

<sup>2</sup> "This stream we call River Philosophy." Lewis. Now called Willow Creek.

mo. the Game is now gitting Scarse. we are now with out fresh meat which is verry uncommon to us, for we have generally had double as much as we could eat. the day very warm we proceeded on passed clifts of rocks and high wales [walls] & C. Some pine and ceeder timber along the hill Sides. Some of the hills nearly a solid rock. we Came  $17\frac{3}{4}$  miles and Camped on a small Island on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side.<sup>1</sup> our hunter on Shore wounded a White bear, but did not kill it dead.

Thursday, August the first 1805. a fine morning we Set out as usal, and proceeded on. Some of the hunters killed a goose and a beaver. about 8 oClock A. M. we halted took breakfast under a handsom ceeder tree on S. Side. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis, Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass, G. Drewyer and our Intrepter Sharbonoe Set out to go on by land 4 or 5 days expecting to find Some Indians. we proceeded on the current Swift. we find currents of different kinds as usal, and wild or choak cherries which are now gitting ripe. the hills begin to git higher and more pine timber on them, and ceeder along the River. we passed clifts of rocks about 500 feet from the Surface of the water. considerable of pine timber along the sides of the hills. Saw Some timber or trees along the Shores, resembling ceeder which Some call juniper wood. about noon Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed a Mountain Sheep out of a flock on the Side of a redish hill or clifts on L. Side he shot it across the River and the rest of the flock ran up the clifts which was nearly Steep. the one killed roled down some distance when it fell. we got it and dined hearty on it. we proceeded on. passed over a bad rapid at the upper end of an Island jst above high rough clifts of rocks. the towing line of the Captains canoe broke in the pitch of the rapid and the canoe was near turning over nocking again the rocks. little further up passed a creek or large Spring run,<sup>2</sup> which came in on L. S. and ran rapid. came to a large valley which Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark had seen before when he came up a few days ago. passed large bottoms covered with timber, on each side of the River. Saw a white bear. took on board 2 Elk which Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis had killed and left for us. the hunters killed in these bottoms 5 deer this evening. passed the mouth of a large creek<sup>3</sup> on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side and a Spring. came

<sup>1</sup> Just above a small run which Coues identifies as modern Antelope Creek. It empties into Jefferson River near the boundary of Madison, Jefferson, and Gallatin counties.

<sup>2</sup> Named in honor of Frazier, one of the members of the expedition. Now called South Boulder Creek, in northern Madison County.

<sup>3</sup> Boulder River, in Jefferson County.

13½ miles and Camped on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side in a bottom of cotton timber.<sup>1</sup> high hills on each side, and Saw the mountain<sup>2</sup> a Short distance to the South of us.

Friday 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1805. a fine pleasant morning. we set out early and proceeded on. The River is now Small crooked Shallow and rapid. passed bottoms covered with cotton Timber. Saw abundance of beaver lodges to day. Some trees newly cut down by them. Saw pond where they dammed up the water one dam above another which is curious to behold. passed a high bank in which was villages of bank Swallows passed large beautiful bottom praries on each side and bottoms of timber & C. Saw Several old Indian Camps on S. Side. Some of the high hills look black with pine timber and Solid rocks. & C. the day warm. we proceeded on. passed a number of Islands, and bottoms cov<sup>d</sup> with cotton & birch timber. passed Smooth prarie. Saw Several grey Eagles & C. we Came 14¾ miles to day and Camped on the edge of a Smooth plain on L. Side.<sup>3</sup> Saw a gang of Elk back under the hills. the country in general back from the river is broken and mountainous.

Saturday 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1805. a clear morning. we set out as usual and proceeded on. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark walked on Shore a Short time and killed a Deer. the River very crooked and filled with Islands. we proceeded on. Saw 2 deer on the edge of the River one of the hunters R. Fields went after them and killed a panther on an Island. it was 7½ feet in length. it differs from those in the States. it is of a redish brown, and the first we have killed. passed very rapid water we have to double man the canoes and drag them over the Sholes and rapid places. we have to be in the water half of our time. passed level praries on each Side the bottoms has been burned over about 6 months past by the natives, as appears. passed a large Spring on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side at a low bottom of willows and high grass. The beaver has made a dam at the mouth on the bank of the River which causes a pond back Some distance and they have lodges all through the pond. the water falls over the dam in the River ab<sup>t</sup> 4 feet. I drunk of the water found it very cold. it appears that there is 3 or 4 Springs running from under the mountains a Short distance to the South of us Some Spots

<sup>1</sup> In Madison County, opposite the mouth of Boulder River.

<sup>2</sup> The Tobacco Root Mountains.

<sup>3</sup> In Madison County, about midway between White Tail Deer and Pipe-stone creeks. Across the range from the headwaters of the latter lies Butte, probably the greatest mining camp in the world.

of Snow on it. about one oC. we passed over a bad rapid and halted at a bottom covered with timber, to dine the day pleasant and warm. proceeded on passed a large spring run which is made by the Snow on the Mountains and runs from the foot of the M<sup>o</sup> through a Smooth plain. the River gitting more rapid the rapids longer passed beaver ponds. bottom prairie & bottoms covered with timber & C. Came 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles this day, and Camped on the Lar<sup>d</sup> side at a bottom of cotton timber.<sup>1</sup> the currents verry thick, & rabbit berrys & C.

Sunday 4<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear morning. we Set out at sunrise one hunter sent on a head to kill some fresh meat for the party. proceeded on about 8 oC. A. M. we found a note which Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis had left & his camp yesterday morning, letting us know that if he found no Indians or fresh sign by this evening he would return a few miles back & hunt till we come up. we Saw a flock of goats in the high plain under the Mountains, on the top of which is a little Snow & considerable of pine timber. the Mountains are makeing near the River on each Side only a valley along the River which is pleasant, but the Soil indifferent. we proceeded on came up with our hunter who killed 2 deer the rapids continue. we have hard halling over them with the chord, and where the Shore will not admit we have to waid in the water. Some of the mountains near the River has been burned by the natives Some time ago. the pine timber killed the cotten timber in some of the R. bottoms kill<sup>d</sup> & dry also. not so much timber along the River as below. we proceeded on. killed a goose & a duck they are plenty on the River. we Came 15 miles this day and Camped on s. side at a bottom cov<sup>d</sup> with dry trees red willows & rose bush which are verry thick. beaver ponds & Sign plenty & C.

Monday 5<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear cool morning. we set out as usual 2 hunters sent on a head to kill some meat. pass<sup>d</sup> rapids as usual. one of the hunters killed a deer before brakfast. the wind cold from the South. the Shores and hills rocky the bottom of the River covered with Slippery Small Stone and gravel. we proceeded on passed over rapids worse than ever it is with difficulty & hard fatigue we git up them Some of which are almost perpinticular 3 or 4 feet fall in a Short distance. our other hunter joined us at noon had killed nothing but had seen where

<sup>1</sup> Ten and three-fourths miles, by Clark's measurements, above the mouth of Pipestone Creek.

the River forks again. about 7 oC. P. M. clouded up wind high. we proceeded on about a mile further up came to a another forks<sup>1</sup> one nearly as [large as] the other if any difference the right hand fork the largest. we was not certian whether Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis was up the left fork or right So Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark left a note for him on the point which is level prarie, & proceeded on up the right hand fork,<sup>2</sup> which is amazeing rapid Some of which falls nearly 3 feet in the length of a canoe, but with hard labour we draged them over. we passed thro a channel which was filled with willows and young cotton wood & brush, Some of which was fell across by the beaver. the currents so rapid we were oblidged to hall by the bushes, and Some places be out in the water where we could Scarsely kick our feet for the rapidity of the current. Saw Several high beaver dams. passed several Islands. we could scarsely croud the canoes through the bushes in several places, night came on and we Camped on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side at a bottom which is level and low, has been over flowed lately. it appars this little Stream is verry high, but has been high by the Snow melting off the Mountains. it is now falling a little. was it low we could not proceeded by water any further. our hunter killed a deer. Came 8 miles to forks this day. the party much fatigued and wish to go by land.

Tuesday 6<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear morning. we Set out as usal, and proceeded on halling the canoes over the rapids. the bottoms low and covred with small timber. about 8 oClock we halted for breakfast. Several men went out a Short distance to hunt. Some of them Saw a large Indian path, or road along the plain. George Drewyer came to us and Informed us that we were on the wrong fork that we could not go far up this [one] for the Sholes & rapids & that their was 3 forks in this valley and the middle one was the best for us to go up. one of the hunters did not return, So we left George Drewyer expecting the hunter in Soon. we turned about and proceeded on down the rapids to the forks, with the crafts. in passing the bad place of bushes & drift

<sup>1</sup> The junction of the Big Hole and Jefferson rivers, in Madison County.

<sup>2</sup> Up the Big Hole. Lewis had reached the junction of the two streams two days before. His exploration convinced him that the middle, or Jefferson fork was the proper one to ascend. Accordingly he wrote a note to Clark apprizing him of this fact, and affixed it to a pole at the forks. But the pole was green, and the beavers cut it down before Clark's arrival. In ignorance of Lewis' note Clark proceeded, with great difficulty, to ascend the Big Hole for a mile, where he encamped on an island that had lately been overflowed.

which we went up last evening, one canoe turned over another partly filled and was near turning over also. one knapsack, full of cloaths leather & C. lost, allso a Shot pouch powder horn & some mockisons.<sup>1</sup> the rest all got down Safe to the forks and put out all the goods and articles to dry. Several men out to hunt. one man Jo<sup>s</sup> Whitehouse got his leg lamed when the canoe turned over. Several things damaged by gitting wet. found Some difficulty in gitting the canoes down over the Sholes and rapids. one kig of powder Spoild we found Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and party at the forks they informed us that they had been about 30 miles up the middle fork and they allowed that to be much the best for us to go up. we Camped on the L. Side of the forks in the evening all the hunters returned had killed 3 deer & a faun Elk the man who left us this morning has not returned and we expect he is lost again. his name is george Shannon. we blew the horn and fired Several guns in hopes he would hear it.<sup>2</sup> the Indian goods & C did not all git dry this evening.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday 7<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear morning. we unloaded one of the Small canoes and halled it out in the bushes in a grove of cotton timber on L. Side of the forks and left their. we put

<sup>1</sup> In this accident to the canoes Whitehouse narrowly escaped death. Thrown out of one of the canoes as it swung in the rapid current, the boat passed over him, pressing him to the bottom. Had the water been two inches shallower, in Lewis' opinion, he must inevitably have been crushed to death. Whitehouse himself gives a modest account of his danger and escape.

<sup>2</sup> Shannon's habit of getting lost has already been noted, but his present predicament was due to no fault on his part. Wheeler is disposed (II, 8) to condemn Lewis and Clark for not making a more determined effort to find him. "Almost a mere boy," they "sent him out to hunt, then absolutely reversed their program and route, of which he was entirely ignorant, and went on up another river, leaving him finally 'to get out of his scrape' the best way he could." By this time, however, Shannon was learning to take care of himself in the wilderness. After a vain search up the Big Hole for his companions, on the supposition that they had gone on in advance, he returned to the forks and from there followed up the Jefferson until he rejoined the expedition on August 9.

<sup>3</sup> While encamped here the captains gave names to the branches of the river which come together at this point. They decided that the "middle fork," which Lewis advised ascending, was the continuation of the main stream which they had already named the Jefferson. The right-hand fork (the modern Big Hole) they named Wisdom River, and the left-hand fork, Philanthropy River, "in commemoration of two of those cardinal virtues which have so eminently marked that deservedly scilibrated character [Jefferson] through life." Lewis, August 5. The name Wisdom is still sometimes used to designate the Big Hole, but Philanthropy has given place to modern Stinking Water.



the goods & C. not dry out in the Sun Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis took an observation & Shoot the air gun. the man G. Shannon not returned yet. the morning cool, but the day warm. the large flys troublesome & C. about one oClock we packed up all the baggage and Set out and proceeded on up the middle fork we find the current not so rapid nor the rapids So bad as the N. fork. we had Thunder Showers this afternoon, attended with high winds. passed Smooth prairie on each side the River very crooked & C. Came 7 miles and Camped at a bottom on L. S. this bottom is covered with bushes & a little timber bryry & C. our hunter G. Drewyer joined us had killed one deer which we stood in great need off.

Thursday 8<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear cold morning. a heavy dew. 4 hunters sent out at light. we Set out at Sun rise and proceeded on. passed beautiful praries on each side, but little timber, only willows currents & C. passed the left hand or North fork has 2 mouths empties in at 2 places but is not as large as the middle fork<sup>1</sup> which we still take. Saw a little Snow on the knobs back of this large and extensive valley, which is Smooth level prairie. the 3 forks all comes in at this valley. Saw wild Onions & golden rod. the prairie is covred with grass which is high in places. the beaver abounds on these Rivers. they have dams and ponds & C. & C. in different places. the Soil of these praries is much better than it has been below for a long distance. proceeded on passed a fine Spring on L. S. one of the hunters brought us a deer which he had killed. Saw a number of geese & ducks on the River. passed beautiful prairie on each Side covred with high grass thissels Sun flowers Some clover and different kinds of herbs & C. at noon R. Fields who had been hunting for Shannon returned to us. had not found him. had killed a deer & a goat also. one other of the hunters came in had killed a deer & a goat or antelope. the day warm. a very pleasant part of the country in this valley, which appears to be 10 or 12 miles wide all Smooth prairie except a few groves of cotton trees willows & bushes beaver dams & C. on the River, which is very crooked but not so rapid as below, and only about 25 yards wide, and very crooked the bends Short passed upwards of

<sup>1</sup> The north fork was, of course, the Philanthropy, or modern Stinking Water River. The middle fork, which the explorers regarded as the continuation of Jefferson River, appears on modern maps as Beaver Head River.

60 points this day. Came [blank in Ms.] miles<sup>1</sup> & Camped in a thicket of bushes on the L. S. the hunters came in with another Deer.

Friday 9<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear cool morning. Several hunters out early. we Set out at Sun rise and proceeded on. the wind high from S. E. took on board a deer which the hunters killed. about 8 oClock we halted for breakfast. George Shannon who had been 3 days lost joined us with 3 buck Skins which he killed & found fat. he brought in a little of the meat also. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis, Shields, Drewyer & M<sup>c</sup>neal set out to go on a head a long distance to make discoveries in hopes to find Indians & C.<sup>2</sup> we proceeded on took on board another Deer which the hunters had killed. the game is generally Scarce along here. only a few Deer to be Seen. the River & bottoms prairie continues as yesterday back at the 3 forks our Captains named this fork *Jefferson River the North we call Sensable River<sup>3</sup> because we were Sensable of it. the South fork named<sup>4</sup>* not known for cer<sup>tn</sup> yet So I expect the forks ought to be called the head of the Missourie, although we are yet on a branch which we expect to see the head of it in a few days. Some thunder the Musketoes troublesome. the beaver as plenty as usual, & C. Saw Snow on the Mountains Some distance a head. proceeded on passed the head of the old channel where the River formely ran along the high land at the South Side of the prairie. Some timber along the old bed. Some part of the prairie is low and boggy and will Shake for Some distance around a man when he walks on it. we expect it would be good turf to burn. Some Showers passed over. we Came 18 m<sup>ls</sup> and Camped at a few trees on L. Side.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nineteen miles by water, but owing to the crookedness of the river only eight land miles. The camp was in Madison County, six miles above the mouth of Stinking Water River.

<sup>2</sup> This excursion was made because Sacajawea had given information that her people were not far away, and the explorers stood in urgent need of finding them and procuring horses for use in place of boats as a means of transportation. Lewis set out with the determination to cross the continental divide and proceed down the Columbia until he should find either the Snake or other Indians possessed of horses, "if it should cause me a trip of one month."

<sup>3</sup> This name is unknown, hitherto, to the records of the expedition. That the explorers should be "Sensable" of Wisdom River is not strange, in view of their arduous experience while attempting its navigation. Apparently Lewis and Clark debated whether to commemorate, in naming the stream, their experience with it, or the wisdom of their patron, President Jefferson.

<sup>4</sup> The words in italics are marked out in the manuscript.

<sup>5</sup> Sixteen miles, according to Lewis, but the distance gained was by land only five miles. Camp was two miles by land (6½ by water) below the Beaver

Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we set out as usual. Several men out hunting. we have now to live on poor venison & goat or antelopes which goes hard with us as the fatigues is hard. the cliffs and high land begin to make near the River. passed a high bank along L. S. took on board a deer which one of the hunters killed 2 days past. passed a high cliff of rocks of rocks on Starb<sup>d</sup> Side proceeded on the valley wider & covered with high grass. the hills make further from the River. the River Small & amazing crooked,<sup>1</sup> our Commanding officers thought proper that the Missourie Should loose its name at the 2 [second] 3 forks we passed Some time ago, where we expected to have found the Snake nation of Indians. So they named the North fork Jeffersons River the the west or middle fork Maddisons River. the South fork Gallitine River, on which is a large Spring 2 miles from its Junction with the Missourie. the Small River which falls in to Jeffersons River above the forks on L. S. they call Phillossofy River.<sup>2</sup> So we Still keep on Jeffersons River the last three forks we passed a few days past. they call the North fork Wisdom River the South fork they call Philandrophy, and the west or middle Still retains the name of Jeffersons River, which we are yet on it is now gitting a Small Stream verry crooked and Sholes in places, So that we have to wade and hall the canoes over. about one oClock we halted to dine. a hard Thunder Show[er] arose of rain and large hail which lasted nearly an hour. we then proceeded on the prarie low & Smooth as usual. the beaver abound in this valley which is large and extensive & pleasant & C. our hunters killed only one Deer this day. we Came 13 miles this day and Camped on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side.<sup>3</sup>

Sunday 11<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a wet rainy morning. Several men out hunting. we Set out after breakfast and proceeded on about 3 miles come to a large prarie Island which [is] Three Thousand miles from wood River or from the Mouth of the Missourie. So we call it 3000 mile Island. we went up the L. Side of it and were oblided to hall the canoes over several shole places. Saw a nom-Head. This is a famous landmark on the boundary between Madison and Beaverhead counties, about midway between the forks below and the town of Dillon above. Beaverhead County, which the party was to enter the following day, takes its name from the rock.

<sup>1</sup> The record for the day kept by Lewis shows that the party traveled thirteen miles, yet the actual advance made was only four land miles.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Willow Creek, near the mouth of which the camp of July 30 was located.

<sup>3</sup> Coues locates the camp two miles by land above the Beaver Head.

ber of geese and ducks in the little pond and on the prairie. one of the hunters joined us at noon had killed three Deer and two other a Short distance a head. the day warm the large flies troublesome. we proceeded on passed Several muddy Sunken ponds, and low marshy bottom prairie which is wet and soft. the beaver have made many channels to their ponds & lodges from the River & C. they are very numerous in this valley. more So than ever we Saw them before. towards evening we came to a few few Scattering trees along the Shores but no other but cotton & willow [and] a few Small birch. the valley continues 8 or 10 miles wide & all Smooth low prairie without timber. we saw high Mountains a head some distance large Spots of Snow on them. we Came 14 miles this day and Camped on a wet bottom on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side.<sup>1</sup>

Monday 12<sup>th</sup> August, 1805. a clear morning. 3 hunters out hunting. we set out as usual and proceeded on the current very rapid the River very crooked. Some of these rapids is deep and dangerous to pass up one of the large canoes was near turning over. we passed low Swampy land a little timber along the Shore. about 2 oClock we halted to dine. we had a hard Thunder Shower rained some time. we then proceeded on found plenty of red and yellow currents along the Shores. took on board a goat or antelope which one of the hunters killed yesterday in the evening the hunters joined us had killed 3 deer & a faun. we Came [blank in Ms.] miles<sup>2</sup> and Camped at a grove of cotton trees & Smooth prairie on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side.

Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> August 1805. Cloudy. we set out as usual and proceeded on. Several hunters [sent out] to hunt. passed a handsome Spring run<sup>3</sup> which came in on L. Side the hills make nearer the River. the valley not so wide as below & a little higher. Smooth plains covered with grass & Sun flowers & C. Saw Some pine timber on the high hills back from the River. we halted and took breakfast at a high clift of rocks on L. Side the hills above make near the River on the L. Side. we proceeded on the current rapid. the plains continues on the L. Side and hills along the

<sup>1</sup> Seven miles by land above the Beaver Head, and an equal distance below the town of Dillon. Coues.

<sup>2</sup> Twelve miles by water, four by land. The camp was a short distance below the mouth of modern Black Tail Deer Creek, in the immediate vicinity of the town of Dillon.

<sup>3</sup> Named in honor of McNeal, a member of the expedition; modern Black Tail Deer Creek.

Stard. Side a few Scattering cotton trees along the River. in the afternoon the current more gentle. we had caught a number of fine Trout this Several days passed high cliffs of rocks and fine Springs on S. Side Saw a number of large otter diving in the River before us. Saw bald eagles ducks & C. we took on board a deer the hunters had killed. Came 15 miles this day and camped on the Smooth prairie on L. Side.<sup>1</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Shot a duck. considerable of flax in these praries. Some of the party saw some of the Seed. 2 of the hunters have not joined us this evening. the mountains appear near a head of us.

Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear cold morning. the 2 hunters Stayed out all last night. we took an eairly breakfast and Set out. the [water] is verry cold. We have to waid in it which makes our feet and legs ake with cold. we expect it is made of Springs and near the head of the most of them which causes the River water to be as cold as Spring water. the upper part of this valley is Smooth and pleasant passed a large Spring run or creek<sup>2</sup> on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side a handsome valley & small timber Some distance up it. the hills appear verry high to the West about 10 oClock A. M. we came up to the hunters Camp at a grove of cotton timber on L. Side. they have killed 4 Deer and one ante-lope. we proceeded on the current more rapid [which] oblidged us to hall the large canoes up the rapid & shole places. the bottom of the River Shores & bars Stoney. about one oC. P. M. we halted to dine at a dry part of the plain a fiew groves of cotton timber along the River the red & yellow currents common. the black goose berry verry Sower to the taste. The wind high from S. W. the current continued rapid all day. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed a buck. one of these men killed a faun deer. we came [blank in Ms.] miles<sup>3</sup> and Camped on the upper part of the valley a little timber. the plain high. the foot of the mountains near.

Thursday 15<sup>th</sup> August 1805. clear & cold this morning. we Set out after breakfast and entered the Mountains. high cliffs of rocks on each side near the River. S[t]leep up from the River

<sup>1</sup> Sixteen miles by water, four miles by land, above the mouth of Black Tail Deer Creek.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Rattlesnake Creek. Coues.

<sup>3</sup> Fourteen miles by water, 6½ miles by land. Lewis places the camp four land miles below the mouth of Grasshopper Creek. Coues notes that there is much inaccuracy in the distances given by the explorers in this portion of their route; but the topographical features are clearly described.

on L. Side 3 or 400 feet. Saw and took on board 4 deer Skins which Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis had left at the entrence of the Mountains. we passed Several bad rapids. caught a number of Trout in the Eddy below the rapids. now the river more Shallow. passed high clifts of rocks. & rough knobs &. C. about 2 oClock we passed the mouth of a creek on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side 10 y<sup>ds</sup> wide & 3 feet 3 Inc<sup>h</sup> deep, at the mouth. 2 hunters on a head a hunting. we Saw where Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Camped the 10 ult. Some of the high knobs are covred with grass. a few Scattering pine trees on them. the River crooked Shallow and rapid. Some deep holes where we caught a number of Trout. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark was near being bit by a rattle Snake which was between his legs as he was fishing, on the shore. he Shot and killed 2 or 3 others this day. our Intrepters wife found and gethered a fine persel of servis berrys we came [blank in Ms.] miles<sup>1</sup> this day & Camped on L. Side at a narrow plain near a grove of cotton trees. Several old Indian Camps here &. C.

Friday 16<sup>th</sup> August, 1805. a clear morning but verry cold. the Thurmometer Stood at 47° the water so cold that we delayed until after we took breakfast. One hunter out this morning. 2 hunters Stayed out last night. we proceeded on as usal. passed a handsom Spring run on L. Side Some timber on it. we find the current Swift [and] the river Shallow we are oblidged to hall the large canoes the most of the time. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark our Intrepter & wife walked on Shore and found a great quantity of Servis berrys the largest & best I ever saw. they gethered a pale full &. C. Gave them out to the party at noon where we halted to dine at a grove of cotton trees on L. Side. Saw a number of bald & grey Eagles &. C. our hunter who went out this morning killed a verry large buck. the bottoms on the River narrow we name this place Servis berry valley. the 2 hunters who Stayed out last night joined us here and informed us that the River forks again only about 6 miles by land from this & that each fork was Shallow. 2 hunters sent on to the forks to hunt we proceeded on passed up Sholes & rapids towards evening we passed up a verry bad rocky rapid which was difficult to pass over. we were oblidged to waid and hale the canoes over the large rocks &. C. we passed a fine Spring on S. Side and a run on L. Side<sup>2</sup> high clifts of rocks & hills on each Side found pleanty of currents on the banks.

<sup>1</sup> Seven miles by land. The camp was at the mouth of a small run, three miles above Grasshopper Creek. Coues gives its name as Gallagher's Creek.

<sup>2</sup> Now called Clark Cañon Creek. The springs mentioned by Ordway are shown on some modern maps.

the water not So Swift above the bad rapid. we Came [blank in Ms.] miles<sup>1</sup> and Camped on a narrow bottom on L. Side no timber. we gethered small willow Sticks only to boil our vension. the beaver verry plenty & C.

Saturday 17<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear cold morning. we have been cold this Several nights under 2 blankets or Robes, over us. a little white frost the air chilley & cold. we took an cairly breakfast and set out proceeded on a Short distance heard Some Indians Singing on Shore on L. Side directly came up Several of the Snake nation a horseback. they told us that Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and party was at the forks waiting our arival. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark the Intrepter & wife went with them back & forth the Shore<sup>2</sup> to see us come up with the canoes. we halted the canoes over a great number of Shole places and arived at Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Camp ab<sup>t</sup> 10 oClock A. M. a little below the forks,<sup>3</sup> their was 20 odd of the Snake nation Indians Camped here which came over the Mountains with Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis they appeared verry friendly Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis informed us that he had been over the dividing ridge or mountain to the headwaters of the columbian River & that it is only about 40 miles from this place. they drank at the head Spring of the Missourie & went only about a mile and drank at the head Spring of the Columbian River<sup>4</sup> which ran west. they Saw one Indian comming towards them on horse back a considerable distance from the band. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis wavered a blanket as a token of friendship. he lay close on his horse & Spyed 2 of the party makeing towards him who had been a hunting a little off the road. the Indian turned his horse and ran him untill he got to his band & told the news. the next they met was 3 Squaws digging roots. 2 of them ran off Some distance the other being

<sup>1</sup> Fourteen miles by water, 6½ miles by land. The camp was half a mile above the mouth of Clark Cañon Creek.

<sup>2</sup> At this point there is evidently an omission of a portion of the thought intended to be conveyed. Whitehouse wrote as follows: "Capt. Clark our intrepter & wife went with the natives rode their horses to the forks. they kept rideing back & forward to see us comeing up with the canoes."

<sup>3</sup> This was the point of junction of Horse Prairie Creek, which the party was about to ascend, with Beaver Head River. The former is in reality a tributary of the latter, a fact not clearly appreciated by Lewis and Clark. They regarded (incorrectly) Horse Prairie Creek as the true source of the Missouri.

<sup>4</sup> Lewis had crossed the divide to the Lemhi River, which drains into the Salmon, and this in turn into the Snake. The Indians had been encountered in camp on the Lemhi.

old stood hir ground. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis set down and gave hir Some Small presents. She then called the other 2 which came up and piloted them to their Camp which was on a branch of the columbian River they were on their way over to this Side to hunt & C. they had Some Salmon which they caught in the main River they tell us that their is no timber on the head waters for canoes. they also tell us that their is no game, but we do not believe them. they are poor. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis gave them what little presents he had with him and they came about 20 odd with their horses with him across the M<sup>ts</sup> 2 chiefs among them. when Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis first came near them they appeared frightened untill he & them with him lay down their arms & made motions of friendship. when they met the natives took them round the neck as a great token of friendship. they were uneasy & afraid that they were taken in when they came to the forks & found that we were not there as they had mentioned, but when they Saw us they were glad, and were verry friendly to lend us their horses to pack meat & C. we conclude to leave the canoes at this place, So we unloaded and formed a Camp a little below the forks on a Smooth prarie on L. S. no timber. we have to cook with Small willow & C. high hills on the point between the 2 Rivers, & around this valley a fiew Scattering pitch pine on them. this valley Smooth & pleasant. the natives horses appear good and in tollarable order, but they are verry poor nothing to be seen among it them but their horses & 2 or 3 guns, but no ammunition. they are dressed tollarably well in antelope & Mountain Rams Skins well dressed. a fiew beeds hung in their ears with mussel Shells & C their hair Short the most of them. we expect they git their horses from the Spanis[h] and what other little art articles they have. but they have no knives tommahawks nor no weapons of war except their bow & arrows. it is only by their acc<sup>t</sup> 8 day travel to the South to the Spanish country. our officers Captains Lewis & Clark told the head chief<sup>1</sup> of them that they wanted to by their horses to take our baggage over the Mountains. the Chief said they would let us have the use of their horses & promised to assist us over over as much as lay in their power. So they gave them out considerable of different kinds of marchandize. gave the chief a meddel made another chief & gave him a meddle also. gave the head chief a uniform coat & Shirt & arm bands & C. & C.

<sup>1</sup> The Shoshoni chief, Cameahwait, proved to be the brother of Sacajawea. Fortunately for the explorers they had fallen in with the very same band from which Sacajawea had been torn by her captors several years before.



Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Shot the airgun, which they thought a great meddicine & Shewed them a number of strange things to them. 4 deer & 2 antelopes killed by the hunters this day. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis tells us that the game is verry scarce on the mountain he was about 3 days with [out] meat. the natives gave Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis ear bobs to put in ears and an ornament to Spread over his Shoulders, which was made of white wezels tails & fastened on an otters Skin. they fixed off all the men in the Same way who were returning with Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis. they take us round the neck and Sweze us in token of friendship as they have a practice in Stead of Shakeing hands.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the embracing the salutation included the touching of cheeks together. Lewis describes the ceremony, as first experienced by him, on August 13, concluding with this hint concerning certain of its drawbacks: "we wer all carressed and besmeared with their grease and paint till I was heartily tired of the national hug."

## CHAPTER X

### CROSSING THE BACKBONE OF THE CONTINENT, AUGUST 18—OCTOBER 6, 1805

Sunday 18<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear morning. one beaver caught last night in a trap. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 11 men got in readiness this morning to go with the natives over the Mountain to see if [it is] possible to make canoes for us to descend the Columbian river to the western ocean. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis bought three horses of the natives. gave a uniform coat and a knife for one and red leggins & a hankerchief & knife for an other. a few arrow points hove in about the Sam given for the other<sup>1</sup> Some of the men bought one to carry their baggage on and gave an ordinary check Shirt a pair of old red leggins and a knife only for a tollarable good pack horse. about 10 oClock A. M. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & 11 men set out with the natives all except 2 men & 2 of the women [who] Stayed at our Camp. we put out our baggage & Indian goods to dry and air. we had Showers of rain this afternoon. one hunter out who killed one deer. we got one of the Indians horses to pack it into Camp.

Monday 19<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear cold morning. we took up the fish net which we set across the River last night, and the steel traps which were set for beaver. no fish caught in the net. one beaver caught in a trap. a white frost & the grass stiff with frost it being disagreeably cold. the day pleasant & warm. 3 hunters out with a horse a hunting. the men at Camp employed in dressing Skins packing the baggage & making pack saddles &c. we caught a number of fine Trout covered all over with black spots in Stead of red. in the afternoon the hunters returned to Camp & had killed and brought in 2 deer. light Showers of rain this even<sup>g</sup> this is the place we call the upper forks of Jeffersons River & the extream navigable point of the Missourie close under the dividing ridge of the Western Country. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis takes observations by the Sun and moon & C.

<sup>1</sup> Meaning, apparently, that a few arrow points were bartered for another horse.

Tuesday 20<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear cold morning. a light frost. two men out a hunting. the men at Camp all employed dressing Skins &C. the 2 Indians at our Camp behave verry well and their Squaws mend our mockisons, and make Some &C. and are as friendly as any Savages we have yet seen. our hunters returned in the afternoon but had killed nothing. the game Scarse. G. Drewyer caught a beaver in a trap last night. it got away and carried the trap 2 miles down the river he got it in the afternoon it was a verry large beaver. the Indians eat it. a number of fine Trout caught this day. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis went a Short distance down the River and looked out a place undiscovered from [unknown to] the natives for a carsh or hole to hide Some of our baggage which we can Spare or do without untill our return.

Wednesday 21<sup>st</sup> August 1805. the ground is covred with a hard white frost. the water which stood in the small vessells froze  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an Inch thick. a little. Some deer skins which was spread out wet last night are froze Stiff this morning. the Ink freezes in my pen now the sun jest ariseing clear and pleasant this morning one hunter out a hunting. took a horse with them, four men sent to dig a hole or carsh. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis took his observations at the place and the Latitude produced is 44<sup>d</sup> 35<sup>m</sup> 28.1<sup>s</sup> North. this evening after dark we carried the baggage to the carsh or hole which we leave at this place. we took it to hide undiscovered from the natives. all the baggage which we carry with us packed up & pack saddles made ready to cross the diveding ridge as soon as the horses return from the other Side.

Thursday 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1805. a white frost and cold as usal. our hunter<sup>1</sup> returned late last night. had killed only a faun deer, and brought in a load of Indian plunder which he took from Some Indians he met with about 6 or 8 miles from this place. their was only 3 Indians and 3 Squaws our hunter had turned his horse out to feed. one of the Indians took his gun and Sprang on his horse and rode off he rode after him about 20 miles before he got his gun he then jurked or caught hold of his gun & jurked the pan open [and] lost the primeing the Indian then let go and ran. our hunter then returned by their Camp and took all their plunder consisting of Servis berrys dryed different kinds of berrys & cherrys which were dryed for food also roots and a number of other kinds of wild fruit dryed. Several Elk skins which were grained also a

<sup>1</sup> George Drewyer.

number of other articles this morning clear and pleasant. three men sent to cover the hidden baggage. the men at Camp engaged dressing their deer Skins, making their mockasons, Shirts & overalls & C. about 11 o'clock A. M. our Interpreter his wife and one tribe of the Snake nation of Indians arrived here on horse back about 50 odd in number besides women and children. they have come to trade horses with us. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis counceiled with them made two of their principal men chiefs & gave the[m] meddles, and told them in council that the chief of the 17 great nations of America had sent us to open the road and know their wants, & C. and told them that their great father would Send them goods and such things as they stood in need of to defend themselves with and told them also that we wanted in return their beaver and other Skins if they would take care to save them, & C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis traded with them and bought three fine horses and 2 half breed mules for a little Marchandize & C. they have upwards of fifty good horses here now. we being out of fresh meat and have but a little pork or flower we joined and made a fish drag of willows and caught 520 fine pan fish. 2 kinds of Trout & a kind resembling Suckers. we divided them with the Indians, gave them a meal of boiled corn & beans which was a great thing among them<sup>1</sup> they appear verry kind and friendly do not offer to steel or pilfer any thing from us. we trade any usless article which we have no need of for dressed m<sup>o</sup> [mountain] Rams Skins, & C. they Camp close by us we lend them any thing they want and they are verry careful to return the Same. they appear to live in fear of other nations who are constant[ly] at war with them, but Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis told them that those nations promise to live in peace with all nations, but if they should war with them any more their great father would send them arms and ammunition to defend themselves with, but wished them to live in peace with all nations, & C.

Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1805. a clear pleasant morning. 2 of the hunters out a hunting. the natives do not incline to part with any more of their horses untill they cross the mountains, but will carry our baggage over for us. Several of the natives went out with their horses a hunting we took all the canoes in to a pond on the North Side of the River and sank them in the water so as they may be safe at our return. the natives who went a hunting

<sup>1</sup> Lewis also gave Cameahwait some dried squashes, brought from Fort Mandan. He had them boiled, and declared them "the best thing he had ever tasted except sugar," a small lump of which his sister, Sacajawea, had given him.

returned. drove a deer with them near the Camp and rode it down so that they killed it with their bow and arrows, in that way they caught & kill<sup>d</sup> 5 or 6 this day one of them a verry large black tailed Deer. they have no other way to kill their game but to run them down with their horses and tire them so that they can kill them. about 3 oClock P.M. another party of the Snake nation arrived here about 40 of them on horse back. we expect to set out to cross the mountain tomorrow. so we sent 2 men on a head to kill some meat if possible. towards evening our hunter returned. had killed 2 large deer and three small ones and brought them all to Camp on the horse.

Saturday 24<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear cool morning. we find that the band of the Snake nation who came here yesterday are going down on the Missouri after the buffalo and offers some of their horses for sale so we delay this morning in order to purchase some from them. we got three or 4 more horses & hired two and loaded all our horses 12 in number. then the Squaws took on their horses the remainder of our baggage we had ab<sup>t</sup> 20 horses loaded with baggage and set out about 12 oClock on our journey to cross the dividing mountains. we went about 3 miles up the valley. one of the men P. Wiser was taken of a sudden with the colic and detained us so that we got only about 5 miles this afternoon and camped at the creek on the edge of a large smooth plain we had a small shower of rain one of the men caught several large Trout one of the hunters came to camp had kill<sup>d</sup> nothing.

Sunday 25<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear morning. Some frost. we loaded our horses and set out soon after sun rise and proceeded on through the level sandy plain or desert covered with nothing but wild hysop & golden rod, and prickly pears. we went about 7 miles and halted to dine our hunters killed three deer which we divided with the natives. Some of the Indian hunters rode and chased several goats or antelopes but did not kill any. the mountains are high each side of this valley and are covered in some places with pitch pine. passed several fine spring runs which fall from the mountains. the creek is getting small and affords but little water. the hills rocky &c. we proceeded on passed thro a low part of the plain or prairie, which is covered with high grass and wild onions passed several fine springs and forks of the creek one of which had a rapid where it passed a hill little above high cliffs which make near the creek on each side. the plain getting narrow the upper part of it has lately been burned over

no timber in this valley except the willow on the willow on the little branches Saw a few cotton trees towards evening. we came 15 miles this day and Camped at the branch where the mountains made near on each Side. our hunters joined us one of them had killed another Deer which we were obliged to give to the natives who were all most Sterved. had sent an express across the M<sup>o</sup> for the remainder of their lodges to meet them that they all might go down the Missourie after the buffalow. that they could not Sterve but Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis prevailed on the head chief to send one of his men to countermand the Orders and git the other lodges on the other Side to wait one day longer, as we wish to purchase Some more of their horses & want them to help us over &C.

Monday 26<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear cold morning. the water in the Small vessells froze. we set out at Sunrise and proceeded on with our big coats on and our fingers ackd with the cold. we passed a number of large Springs and I drank at the head Spring of the Missourie ran South & walked across a ridge only about one mile and drank at the head Spring of the Columbian River running west.<sup>1</sup> then went up and down a number of high hills passed a number of large Springs all makeing west. Saw pitch pine and balsom fer which grow verry tall on the Spring runs and Sides of the mountains, but they are mostly covred with Short grass. Saw considerable of Snow on the mountain near us which appear but little higher than we are. it lies in heaps and a cold breeze always comes from these mountains we came in Site of the valley where the Small river runs. came about 8 miles & halted to dine one of our Indian women was taken Sick rideing a long and halted a few minutes and had hir child with out detaining us. we gave the savages a little corn and proceeded on passed over Several hills and a large Spring run came in Site of the Indian lodges which were on the little River running west. by the request of the chief which was with us we fired 2 rounds and went to their lodges. they had a large one prepared for us in the center. they have about 30 lodges consisting of men women and children. they have but little to eat they catch a large kind of fish in this little Stream. a large Smooth bottoms on this R. back of the bottoms [are] high hills & mountains. Some pitch pine on them. we Camped near the lodge among the natives. we

<sup>1</sup> Here Ordway crosses, by the Lemhi Pass, the continental divide, passing from the headwaters of Horse Prairie Creek to a tributary of Lemhi River. In so doing he crosses the boundary between Montana and Idaho.

danced<sup>1</sup> a while this evening. they assembled to see us they all appear verry peaceable and friendly. we came here a little before night found colter here who had been with Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark a long distance down this River.<sup>2</sup> he tells us that it is not navigable. no game and verry mountaineous. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Sent Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis a note and says he will meet us here & determine whither we follow the River or go across by land to the w<sup>th</sup> ocean.

Tuesday 27<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a beautiful pleasant morning. 4 men went out a hunting with horses. we hoisted the large flag. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis gave one to the head chief and one to the next. the [Indians] hoisted them also. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis settled & paid off the Indian women who helped us over the divideing mountain. then began to trade with the natives for horses. our Intrepter bought one for a red cloak the Indian women are mostly employed githering and drying seeds & roots for food. they git large quantities of fine black seed which they grind in to meal between two stones. they kill but fiew deer but catch considerable quantity of fresh water Salmon with poles with a Sharpened bone fixed on a pole for a gig. they Some years go down on the Missourie after buffalow and Elk. the country around this place is mountainious and broken Snow now lying a Short distance to the South of us on the broken mountains. our hunters all returned towards evening had killed 4 deer and gixed 8 or 10 fine fish which we call salmon. they would weigh 7 or 8 pound each. but differ from the Salmon caught in the Salt water, but the reason may be there living so far from the ocean in fresh water Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis bought 8 or 9 horses this day. the natives do not wish to part with any more of their horses without gitting a higher price for them. the most of those he has bought as yet was for about 3 or 4 dollars worth of marchandize at the first cost, but we will have to give a little more to git a fiew more horses. in the evening the natives had a war dance and danced with their guns those that had any

<sup>1</sup> A device of Captain Lewis to keep the natives in good humor until a sufficient number of the much-desired horses could be procured from them.

<sup>2</sup> Since their separation at the mouth of Horse Prairie Creek on August 18, Clark had reconnoitered down Lemhi and Salmon rivers for a distance of fifty miles. His observations forced him to the regretful conclusion that the party could not possibly take this route to the ocean. Colter had been sent back in advance of Clark's party to apprise Lewis of his discoveries, and to recommend the adoption of a land route concerning which Clark had received information from an Indian guide. The abandonment of the river route necessitated securing a sufficient number of horses to transport the party, and Lewis began negotiations the following morning for their purchase.

but they had only three or 4 among them. they were verry merry but did not dance so regular as the Indians on the Missourie. their women sang with them, but did not dance any they tell us that Some of their horses will dance but they have not brought them out yet. they have different kinds of plays and games they have a game which they play most like playing batten only they kick singing and do all by motions they risk all the property they git for their horses or Some of them but it does not trouble them they appear to be easy & well contented let the world go as it may.

Wednesday 28<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we hoisted the large flag. the chiefs hoisted theirs also. Several men out a hunting several a fishing with gigs fixed on poles. *the natives have a bone Sharpened and fixed on poles for that purpose*<sup>1</sup> about 9 oClock A.M. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis began to trade again for horses and gives considerable more than he gave yesterday. about 2 oClock P.M. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass arived here had left Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & party ab<sup>t</sup> 12 miles down the River. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis sent him back to inform Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark that we ware waiting here to purchase horses, and wished him & his party to come up & join us. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis bought 5 or 6 more horses to day. we have now in all 25, but the most of them have Sore backs. three men set at makeing pack Saddles. our hunters killed nothing this day in the evening two Strangers arived here from an other band belonging to this nation who now reside Some distance to the south of this near the Spanish country. all the chiefs and principal men assembled to hold a council & hear the news & C. these Savages are fond of Salt. the first we have seen that would taste it.

Thursday 29<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a clear pleasant morning. about 8 oClock A. M. a number of Indians arived here who had been gone along time from the nation one of them got Sculped by some Indians in the prarie or plain he did not know what nation they belonged to. Some of their relations cryed when they came in the village. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis bought two more horses. about 11 oClock A. M. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and party arived here except 2 men who Stayed to take care of the baggage which they left. they informed us that the mountains were amazeing high and rough. almost impossable to pass over them. they had a guide with them. they came uppon one or 2 lodges in a valley between the mo<sup>ts</sup> they started to run but the guide Spoke to them and they

<sup>1</sup> The words in italics are crossed out in the manuscript.



Stood and gave them Some cherries and servis berrys which they were gethering. they lived 4 or 5 days on such berrys. killed but one Deer while they were out. they find that the mountains are so bad that we cannot follow the river by land and the river So rapid and full of rocks that it is impossable for crafts to pass down. neither is their any game they got some Salmon from the natives which they caught in the River with their bone & horn gigs, but had suffered considerable with hunger. the natives tells us that we cannot find the ocean [by] the course we want to go for their old men has been a season or more on that course to find it but could not. and that their was troublesome tribes of Indians to pass. that they had no horses and if they could git hold of any they would eat them as they lived on roots & C their being no game [and] the country so rough and mountaineous. we are not like to purchase any more horses here as the natives tell us that they must keep Some horses unless they could git arms and ammunition in return so that they may be able to defend themselves. but we told them that we could not spare any guns if we should git no more horses. So we put up the goods, as we have now 27 horses and intend to set out on our journey tomorrow and go around or between the mountains and strike the columbia River below if possible our hunters returned towards evening had caught & giced 6 fine Sammon and killed one Deer.

Friday 30<sup>th</sup> August 1805. a fine morning. we got up all our horses. bought 8 more. have now got 30 in all. we got our loads ready. the guide who has engaged with us to go on to the ocean tells us that their is 2 ways to go, but the one bearing south of the Ri: is plains and a desert country without game or water. but the road to the North of the River is rough and mountaineous but s<sup>d</sup> he could take us in 10 days to a large fork of the River which came in on the South Side where the River would be navigable or in about 15 days we could go to where the tide came up and Salt water. So we concluded to go that road. apart of the natives went from this village over to the head of the Missouri after the buffalow.<sup>1</sup> about one oClock P. M. our hunter came in had killed three deer we loaded all but 2 of our horses and set out and proceeded on down the River bottom crossed several this Spring runs and Sever[al] old Camps. went about 10 miles

<sup>1</sup> Thus Sacajawea parted from her people, never, so far as we know, to see them again.

and Camped on a Smooth bottom near the River<sup>1</sup> considerable of cotton and alder wood along the Shores.

Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> August 1805. a fare morning. we Set out eairly and proceeded on 2 miles and pass<sup>d</sup> several lodges of the Snake nation of Indians who stay here to fish. they catch Sammon in their pots and wires [weirs] which they have made of willows across the River and have more or less in them every morn<sup>g</sup> we bough[t] a number of fine large Sammon of them and proceeded on. one hunter on a head. one strange Indian seen which is supposed to be one of the flat head nation. he ran off,<sup>2</sup> and the Indians could not find him. we then proceeded on over rough high hills. Some deep gullies of white earth. Several of the natives followed us. went about eight miles without water and halted at a large Spring branch to let our horses feed and dine ourselves. Some pitch pine on the mountains which make near the River on each Side. the river bottoms narrow and verry much dried up the Soil verry indifferent. we proceeded on over a level Smooth plain ab<sup>t</sup> 7 miles then passed the end of a mountain near the River where the Stone lay one on an other & holes so that the the horses could Scarsely git along without breaking their legs. we then proceeded on to a large Creek which falls in on the East Side of the River. we took a path up s<sup>d</sup> Creek and proceeded on found wild or choke cherrys along the branch. also servis berrys which were ripe. we Came [blank in Ms.] miles this day and Camped at Some Indian lodges near the Creek.<sup>3</sup> one of the hunters killed a deer at dusk and brought it to Camp after dark.

Sunday 1<sup>st</sup> September 1805. Cloudy. we set out at sunrise and proceeded on up a high mountain at the first put one of the horses fell backward and roled over, but did not hurt him much. we proceeded on up and down the high mountains Crossed Sev-

<sup>1</sup> On the south bank of Lemhi River, about eight miles above the forks of Salmon River. Coues.

<sup>2</sup> He "fled with great Speed to Some lodges below & informed them that the Enemies were Coming down, arm<sup>d</sup> with guns &c." Clark.

<sup>3</sup> For the route traversed this day see Wheeler, II, 58, and Coues, II, 575-76. In leaving the Lemhi River country the main party followed the route already pursued by Captain Clark down Salmon River to a point eight or ten miles below the junction of the Lemhi with that stream, to a stream called by them Tower Creek, supposed to be modern Boyle's Creek. They ascended this stream about four miles and then set out across the mountains in a general northwestern direction. Today's camp was four miles above the mouth of Tower (or Boyle's) Creek.

eral Creeks the water of which was verry cold. considerable of pine and cotton timber along each of those branches, and plenty of Servis berrys which are verry Sweet and good at this time. in the afternoon we had several Shower of rain and a little hail. we descended a mountain<sup>1</sup> down into a valley through which runs a large creek we went on a short distance up the valley and Camped<sup>2</sup> at some old lodges. we gixed several Sammon in this Creek. three men went down to the mouth of the creek and bought about 25 pounds of dried Sammon and Sammon rose with a few small articles. our hunters killed a Deer and wounded 2 bear, at dusk we Came 23 miles this day. we find abundance of wild or choke Cherries which are now ripe in this bottom we gethered and boiled Some which eat verry well. Several Small Showers of rain this evening.

Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a cloudy wet morning. we loaded our horses and set out about 7 oClock, and proceeded on. the way we had to go was verry bad some places thick bushes and logs to pass over. other places rocky. our course about N. E. crossed several creeks or large Spring runs the water of which was verry cold. Saw a number of large beaver dams and beaver ponds on this creek. the pine and balsom fer timber tall and strait, and plenty. Some of the pine is large enofe for canoes or boards & C. considerable of common alder along the creeks and runs. we proceeded on up the creek passed through verry bad thickets where we were oblided to cut a road for our horses to pass through. handsom tall strait pine and balsom fer and a little cotton [wood] intermixed. crossed Several branches. Some places muddy. we call this place dismal Swamp. Several beaver dams in it & C. Some places Steep along the edge of the mountains and verry rough and rocky. the mountains make close on each side of the creek and [are] high covred with pine. this is a verry lonesome place. some of our weak horses fell backward climeing the steep rocky hills, and mountains. we had considerable of trouble this day carr[y]ing several of the horses loads up the steep rocky mon<sup>t</sup> one of the horses gave out so that he could not carry his load. we went 13 miles this day and Camped

<sup>1</sup> "nearly as steep as the roof of a house." Whitehouse.

<sup>2</sup> Today's route led overland from the camp on Boyle's Creek to a stream which they called Fish Creek, but which is now known as North Fork of Salmon River. The camp was about ten miles above the mouth of Fish Creek.

in a thicket near the creek.<sup>1</sup> it was about six miles through the thicket which we call the dismal Swamp. nothing killed this day by the hunters only a few fessents [pheasants]. no game of any kind to be seen in these mountains.

Tuesday 3<sup>rd</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. we set out as usual, and proceeded on up the branch a Short distance further up the branch then took the mountain and went up and down rough rocky mountains all day. Some places so steep and rocky that some of the horses fell backwards and roled to the bottom. one horse was near being killed. crossed a number of fine Spring branches. Some places obliged to cut a road for to git along this thicket &C. Some of the balsom fer trees on the branches are about 100 and fifty feet high, and strait. the most of them are covred with warts filled with the balsom &C. we dined at a branch eat the last of our pork &C. some of the men threaten to kill a colt to eat they being hungry, but puts it off untill tomorrow noon hoping the hunters will kill Some game. towards evening we assended a mountain went Some distance on the top of it then went down in to a cave near the head of a branch running nearly an opposite course from the branch we dined on at noon. we Camped in this cove.<sup>2</sup> several small showers of rain. so we lay down wet hungry and cold came with much fatigue 11 miles this day.

Wednesday 4<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. the morning clear, but very cold. the ground covred with frost our mockasons froze the mountains covred with snow. 2 mountain Sheep Seen by one of the men who was a hunting the horses. we delayed untill about 8 oClock A. M. then thoughted our Sailes by the fire to cover the loads and set out. ascended the mountain on to the dividing ridge and followed it some time. the Snow over our mockasons in places. we had nothing but a little pearched corn to eat the air on the mountains verry chillely and cold. our fingers aaked with the cold proceeded on descended the mountain down a rough way passed through a large thicket of pine and balsom fer

<sup>1</sup> The day's route was up Fish Creek. The camp was in the vicinity of the town of Gibbonsville.

<sup>2</sup> The route of this and the following day is somewhat obscure, and it seems hopeless for one not familiar with the locality to seek to elucidate it. Wheeler seems to be the best authority on the subject. In general it may be said that the party on these two days made its way from the upper portion of Fish Creek across the Bitter Root Mountains to a stream draining into Bitter Root River. Cones makes this stream Ross Fork of the Bitter Root, while Wheeler supposes it to have been Camp Creek, an affluent of Ross Fork. In any event, in passing from Fish Creek to this stream, the party had reentered Montana.

timber. in which we killed a dozen partridges or fessents. went down in to a valley on a branch running about a north course and halted. our hunter killed a deer on which we dined. our guide and the young Indian who accompanied him eat the verry guts of of the deer. Saw fresh sign of Indians. proceeded on down this valley towards evening we arived at a large encampment of the flat head nation of Indians about 40 lodges and I Suppose about 30 persons, and they have between 4 or 5 hundred horses now feeding in the plains at our view and they look like tollarable good horses the most of them. they received us in a friendly manner. when our officers went to their lodges they gave them each a white robe of dressed skins, and spread them over their Shoulders and put their arms around our necks instead of Shakeing hands as that is their way they appeared glad to see us. they smoaked with us, then gave us a pleanty Such as they had to eat, which was only Servis berryes and cherries pounded and dried in Small cakes. Some roots of different kinds. our officers told them that we would speak to them tomorrow and told them who we were and what our business is and where we are going & C. these natives are well dressed, descent looking Indians. light complexioned. they are dressed in mo. Sheep leather Deer & buffalow robes &C. they have the most curious language of any we have seen before. they talk as though they lisped or have a bur on their tongue. we suppose that they are the welch Indians if their is any Such from the language. they have feather lodges to live in Some other Skins among them. they tell us that they or Some of them have Seen bearded men towards the ocean, but they cannot give us any accurate *accoun* of the ocean, but we have 4 mountains to cross to go where they saw white men which was on a river as we suppose the Columbian River. came [blank in Ms.] miles to day and pitched our Camp near the creek on the right of the Indian lodges.<sup>1</sup> considerable of large pitch pine timber in this valley our hunter killed another deer this evening.

Thursday 5<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear cool morning. the Standing water froze a little. the Indian dogs are so ravinous that they eat several pair of the mens Moccasons. a hard white frost this morning. Several men went out to hunt our officers purchased Several horses of the natives after Counsiling with them. they are a band of the Flat head natives. our officers made four chiefs

<sup>1</sup> The camp was in a park or "hole," in southern Ravalli County, Mont. For a description of the locality see Wheeler, II, 62.

gave them meddles 2 flags Some other Small presents and told them our business and that we were friends to all the red people & C. which they appeared verry friendly to us. they have a great stock of horses but have no provision only roots and berrys, at this time but are on their way to the Meddison River or Missourie whire they can kill pleanty of buffalow. our officers bought 12 horses from them and gave a Small quantity of Marchandize for each horse. our officers took down Some of their language found it verry troublesome Speaking to them as all they Say to them has to go through Six languages, and hard to make them understand. these natives have the Stranges language of any we have ever yet seen. they appear to us as though they had an Impedement in their Speech or brogue on their tongue. we think perhaps that they are the welch Indians, & C. they are verry friendly to us. they Swaped to us some of their good horses and took our worn out horses, and appeared to wish to help us as much as lay in their power.<sup>1</sup> accommodated us with pack Saddles and chords by our giving them any small article in return towards evening our hunters came in had kil<sup>d</sup> 1 deer.

Friday 6<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear cold morning. we packed up our baggage the natives got up their horses also and Struck their Lodges in order to set out for the Missourie. we have now got 40 good pack horses and three colts. four hunters were furnished horses without loads in order to hunt constant. about 1 oClock we Set out on our journey. the natives Set out at the same time for the Missourie we proceeded on soon crossed a large creek in this valley then Soon took the mountains. one of the hunters left us. we went over a Mountain about 7 miles and descended down the Mountain on a creek and Camped.<sup>2</sup> eat a little parched corn. light sprinkling of rain, through the course of this day.

Saturday 7<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a cloudy cold morning. one of our hunters Stayed out all last night. we set out eairly and pro-

<sup>1</sup> From the time of this first visit by white men these Indians are highly spoken of by visitors to them. Wheeler (II, 64-72) quotes some of these reports and pays a deserved encomium to the hospitable band. He also gives their own account, reduced to writing in 1899, of Lewis and Clark's visit.

<sup>2</sup> The party began this day the descent of Bitter Root Valley, following, in general, the course of Bitter Root River. This stream they named in honor of Captain Clark. From its confluence with Hell Gate River, near Missoula, it still bears Clark's name. To that point the general direction of its course is almost due north. Coues locates the camp six miles above the junction of Ross and Nez Perces forks of the Bitter Root.

ceeded on down the creek. our hunter who stayed out last night over took us had lost his horse. we passed over narrow plains larg pine and cotton timber along the creeks high mountains a little to the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side which is covred thick with Snow. one of our hunters killed two Deer. Some of the the hunters killed 1 goose 1 crain Several pheasants and a hawk. we proceeded on crossed Several Small creeks and runs<sup>1</sup> we had Several Showers of rain. this valley gitting wider. the plain Smooth & dry. we came 18 miles this day and Camped on the bank of the creek.<sup>2</sup>

Sunday 8<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. cloudy and cold. we Set out eairly and proceeded on down this creek which is now verry large. passed over Smooth plain no timber except along the bank of the creeks. Saw Snow on the mou<sup>nt</sup> to our left. high barron hills to our right. about 11 oClock we halted to dine at a branch our hunters joined us. had killed an Elk, and a Deer which they brought with them. the wind cold from the N. W. & Showers of rain, and a little hail. passed over Smooth plains in this valley. the Mountains are rough on each side and are covred with pine and on the tops of which are cov<sup>d</sup> with Snow. our hunters found 2 Stray horses and a handsom colt, which they took along with them we marched 20 odd miles this day and Camped<sup>3</sup> on a Smooth bottom near the creek, where we had fine feed for our horses. our hunters joined us had killed one Deer.

Monday 9<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. cloudy. we Set out [two words illegible] and proceeded on down the valley the plains continue crossed Several creeks a little cotton and pine timber along the banks the Snow continues on the Mo<sup>nt</sup> each Side of this valley. one of the hunters killed a goose and a wood pecker. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed 4 pheasants or prarie hens. we find wild or choak cherries along these branches &C. we passed through a large bottom of rich land which is covred with handsom pitch pine timber. this creek has got to be a Small handsome River and gentle current we have to wade it often and find it as deep as the horses bellys. our hunters killed three deer and several ducks this day we Camped

<sup>1</sup> "of which there are a large number, the valley being abundantly watered on either side by fine, beautiful trout streams." Wheeler.

<sup>2</sup> Clark gives the distance traveled as twenty-two miles. Coues locates the day's camp in the vicinity of Grantsdale, Mont. Wheeler puts it "apparently just above" Weeping Child Creek.

<sup>3</sup> The party had traveled twenty-three miles according to Clark; camp was in the vicinity of Stevensville, Mont.

on the bank of a creek<sup>1</sup> which runs in to the Small River about 2 miles below and [amid] bottoms of cotton timber. Smooth handsome plains on each Side of this creek, and plenty of choke cherries. Mountains of Snow back to our left. our course has been lately ab<sup>t</sup> N. W.

Tuesday 10<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a fair morning. we make a Short halt here to wrest and hunt. all the best hunters turned out to hunt. the day warm. towards evening the hunters returned had killed 4 Deer a faun and Several ducks and geese. one of the hunters Saw three Indians on horse back they appeared afraid of him signed to him to lay down his gun he layed it down they then came to him in a friendly manner. he Signed to them to come with him and they took him on behind one of them and rode down to Camp. they belong to the flat head nation they Signed to us that they lay all day in hearing of our guns but was afraid to come to us. they Sign to us also that 2 of the Snake Nation had Stole 2 of their horses, and they were in pursuit of them.

Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we went out to look up our horses. the Latitude at this place is 46° 48' 28<sup>s</sup><sub>10</sub> North. we did not find all our horses untill afternoon. about 4 oClock P. M. we Set out and proceeded on up this creek course nearly west. the narrow bottoms on this Creek is thinly covred with pitch pine passed a large tree on which the natives had a number of Immages drawn on it with paint. a part of a white bear skin hung on S<sup>d</sup> tree. we came about 7 miles this evening and Camped on a narrow plain<sup>2</sup> near where had been a large Camp of Indians a Short time past. Saw one lodge made of Earth. the pine trees pealed for some distance around. the natives eat the enside bark.

Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a fair morning. a white frost. the hunters set out eairly we loaded and set out soon after and proceeded on soon took the Mountains came up and down Several Steep places crossed Several Small creeks and we descended a

<sup>1</sup> Here the captains decided to lie by for a day in order to rest the horses and take some "secestial Observations." They named the creek, therefore, "Travelers rest." It is now known as Lolo Creek, or the Lolo Fork of Bitter Root. Relying on the Indian guide's information the party now prepared to abandon their descent of the valley of the latter and, ascending Lolo Creek, renew their effort to break through the mountain ranges which barred them from the Columbia.

<sup>2</sup> On Lolo Creek, nine miles, according to the captains' calculations, above its mouth.



bad Steep part of the Moun<sup>ts</sup> and came down on the creek again and halted to dine our hunters had killed this day 4 Deer and a pheasant. we dined and proceeded on crossed 2 more creeks ascended up a mountain on a high ridge a verry bad trail rough and rocky. we found no water nor place to camp untill 10 oClock at night. then descended a Steep part of the Mountain. came down on the creek which we left this morning or at noon and we had came 17½ miles<sup>1</sup> this day. and near s<sup>d</sup> creek where we could not find a level place to Sleep, and Scarcely any feed for our horses.

Friday 13<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. cloudy. we got all our horses up except one which Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis rode [which] we could not find, and a colt also. we then loaded our horses and proceeded on a Short distance and came to a warm Spring<sup>2</sup> which run from a ledge of rocks and nearly boiled and issued out in several places it had been frequented by the Savages. a little dam was fixed and had been used for a bathing place. we drank a little of the water and washed our faces in it. a handsome green on the creek near this Spring. we had Some difficulty here in finding the direct trail. we went round a bad way came on the trail again and halted to dine at or near the head of S<sup>d</sup> Creek at a beaver dam. then proceeded on ascended a high rough mountain over took the hunters who had killed a deer 2 of them sent back to look for Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewises horse. we crossed the dividing ridge<sup>3</sup> and a number of Spring runs and found it to be only about half a mile from the head Spring of the waters running East to the head Spring of the waters runing west. each heading in an open marshy Swamp which is level and full of Springs. we came on a creek running west on which we Camped.<sup>4</sup>

Saturday 14<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> we Set out as usal, and ascended a mountain about 4 miles, then descended it down to on the forks of the

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-three miles, according to Clark. Wheeler locates the camp about two miles below the mouth of Granite Creek.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Boyle's Springs, on Lolo Creek a short distance above the mouth of Granite Creek. Wheeler (II, 81-82) describes the locality in considerable detail. The springs are now a health resort, "largely patronized," even as they were by the red man of old.

<sup>3</sup> The main divide of the Bitter Root Mountains, separating the Bitter Root Valley on the east from the basin of the Clearwater, a tributary of Snake River, on the west. At the same time they again crossed the boundary from Montana into Idaho.

<sup>4</sup> Glade Creek, so called from the mountain glades which are found along its course. The precise route of the party across the mountains, while paralleling in a general way the Lolo Trail, is a matter of some obscurity. Wheeler furnishes (II, 82-112) the most satisfactory discussion of this portion of the expedition's travels.

creek<sup>1</sup> where it ran verry rapid and is full of rocks. we then assended a verry high mountain about 4 miles further to the top of it and verry steep. came some distance on the top then descended down about 6 miles some places verry steep. came down on another fork<sup>2</sup> where the creek is got to be verry large. the Savages had a place fixed across the River and worked in with willows where they catch a great quantity of Sammon in the Spring, as our guide tells us. we crossed the right hand fork where it was very rapid. we proce<sup>d</sup> on passed several old camps. we followed down the main creek about 4 miles had nothing to eat but Some portable Soup we being hungry for a fat colt which eat verry well at this time<sup>3</sup> a little Thunder hail and rain. Saw high Mountains covred with Snow and timber.

Sunday 15<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. cloudy. we Set out as usual and proceeded on a Short distance down the creek. crossed Several Small creeks and Swampy places covred with tall handsome white ceeder and Spruce pine & C. we crossed a creek a pond alittle below then assended a high Mountain Some places so Steep and rocky that Some of our horses fell backwards and roled 20 or 30 feet among the rocks, but did not kill them. we got on the ridge of the mountain and followed it. came over several verry high knobs where the timber had been mostly blown down. we found a small spring before we came to the highest part of the mountain where we halted and drank a little portable Soup and proceeded on to the top of the moun<sup>t</sup> found it to be abo<sup>t</sup> 10 miles from the foot to the top of s<sup>d</sup> moun<sup>t</sup> and most of the way very Steep. we travvelled untill after dark in hopes to find water. but could not find any. we found Some Spots of Snow so we Camped on the top of the Mountain<sup>4</sup> and melted Some Snow. this Snow appears to lay all the

<sup>1</sup> The junction of Glade Creek and Kooskooskee River. The Kooskooskee is shown on some modern maps as the Middle Fork of Clearwater River.

<sup>2</sup> The junction of White Sand Creek and Kooskooskee River.

<sup>3</sup> The "portable soup" is no mere figure of speech; the party killed a colt for supper, and named the last creek passed before camping (White Sand Creek) Killed-colt Creek. Camp was on the Kooskooskee, about four miles below the mouth of White Sand Creek.

<sup>4</sup> The Lolo Trail follows the dividing ridge between the North and Middle (or Kooskooskee) forks of Clearwater River. The Indian guide had committed the error, on September 14, of leading the party away from the main trail down into the cañon of the Kooskooskee at the mouth of White Sand Creek. This error was now painfully corrected by climbing again to the top of the dividing ridge between the two forks of Clearwater River. Reference to the map pre-

year on this Moun<sup>t</sup> we drank a little portable Soup and lay down without any thing else to Satisfy our hunger. cloudy and cold this mountain and all these Mountains are covred thick with different kinds of pine timber. Some high rocks appear ab<sup>o</sup> the timber.

Monday 16<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. when we awoke this morning to our great Surprize we were covred with Snow, which had fell about 2 Inches deep the later part of last night, & continues a cold Snowey morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Shot at a deer but did not kill it. we mended up our mockasons and Set out without any thing to eat, and proceeded on could Scarsely keep the old trail for the Snow. kept on the Moun<sup>t</sup> rather descending more than ascending. about one oClock finding no water we halted and melted Some snow and eat or drank a little more Soup, and let our horses graze about one hour and a half. then proceeded on. Saw considerable of old snow passed several bald knobs and high points of rocks & C. towards evening we descended a Mountain down in to a deep cove where we Camped on a small creek in a thicket of Spruce pine and balsom fer timber. the Snow is now about 4 Inches deep on a lev<sup>l</sup> we came about 15 miles this day. the clouds so low on the Moun<sup>t</sup> that we could not see any distance no way. it appeared as if we have been in the clouds all this day. we all being hungry and nothing to eat except a little portable soup which kept us verry weak, we killed another colt & eat half of it.

Tuesday 17<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. Cloudy and cold we went out to look for our horses found Some of them much Scattered. we did not find them all untill about 12 oClock at which time we Set out and proceeded on. the Snow melted off[f] the timber. the trail verry rough we came up and down bad Steep places of the Mountain, the afternoon clear and pleasant & warm. the snow melted fast. the water Stood in the trail over our mock<sup>ns</sup> Some places Slippery. we assended a steep high rocky part of the Mountain high rocks and high pricipicies. we Camped on this Mountain<sup>1</sup> at a small creek and dry pine timber. we being verry hungry oblidged us to kill another colt the last we had one of the hunters chased a bear up the Mountain but could not kill it. we hear wolves howl some distance a head.

Wednesday 18<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear pleasant morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and Six hunters Set out at sunrise to go on a head expecting  
pared by Wheeler (II, 112) conveys a clearer idea of the situation than any verbal description can do.

<sup>1</sup> Bald Mountain. Wheeler.

to kill Some game. one of our horses lost. we set out and proceeded on the Mountains rough and rocky up and Steep places Some logs and bushes &C. about 3 oClock P. M. we halted on a ridge to let our horses graze a little and melt a little Snow and made a little portable Soup. the Mountains continues as far as our eyes could extend. they extend much further than we expected. we proceeded on untill dark before we found any water then Camped on the Side of a Mountain. had come 14 miles this day. took our horses down a Steep gulley to a run to water them. we Supped on a little portable Soup and Slept on this Sidling Mountain.<sup>1</sup>

Thursday 19<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear morning. we eat the verry last morcil of our provision except a little portable Soup, and proceeded on to the top of S<sup>d</sup> mountain and as we were descending the Same we discovered a very large plain a long distance ahead, which we expect is on the Columbia River, which puts us in good Spirits again.<sup>2</sup> the Moun<sup>t</sup> had this day. we descended a Moun<sup>t</sup> about 4 miles down where it was verry Steep came down on a creek<sup>3</sup> running ab<sup>t</sup> East. we followed up the creek Some distance the way very rocky and bad then went along the side of a Mountain a little to the write of the creek. high steep timbred moun<sup>ts</sup> on each side of s<sup>d</sup> creek. one of our horses fell backwards out of the trail and rolled down over the steep rocks ab<sup>t</sup> 200 feet with 2 boxes of Ammunition and plunged in to the creek with Some difficulty we got the horse up again and load it hurt the horse but did not kill him. we Came 17 miles this day and Camped at a Small run in a thicket of pine and balsom timber &C.

Friday 20<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a cold frosty morning we found a handful or 2 of Indian peas and a little bears oil which we brought with us we finished the last morcil of it and proceeded on half Starved and very weak. our horses feet gitting Sore. came a Short distance and found a line which Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark had left with the meat of a horse which they found in the woods and killed for our

<sup>1</sup> Sherman Peak.

<sup>2</sup> "When this discovery was made there was as much joy and rejoicing among the corps, as happens among passengers at sea, who have experienced a dangerous and protracted voyage, when they first discover land on the long looked for coast." Gass. Wheeler identifies this plain as the Kamas prairie plateau beyond the Kooskooskee or Clearwater.

<sup>3</sup> This creek had been reached the day before by Clark and his party of hunters, who named it "Hungery Creek." According to Wheeler it is a stream, at present unnamed, flowing south, southeast, and south again into Kooskooskee River.

use as they had killed nothing but 1 or 2 pheasants after they left us. we took the meat and proceeded on a Short distance further one horse Strayed from us yesterday with a pair of port Mantons [portmanteaus] with Some Marchandize and Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewises winter cloths & C. 2 men went back to hunt for him. we proceeded on along a ridge where we had a bad road which was filled with logs. our horses got stung by the wasps. we came on untill after dark before we found any water. came 14 miles this day.

Saturday 21<sup>st</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we could not find all our horses untill about 10 oClock at which time we Set out, and procee<sup>d</sup> on soon crossed a creek and procee<sup>d</sup> on nearly a west course, over a rough trail. Some of the ridges the timber has been killed some time past by fires, and is fell across the trail so that we have some difficulty to pass. towards evening we descended down a Moun<sup>t</sup> and came on a large creek<sup>1</sup> running s. w. we came down it a short distance and Camped had come 11 miles this day. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis killed a wolf Some of the party killed three pheasants and a duck. we eat them and caught a fife<sup>1</sup>w craw fish in the creek and eat them.

Sunday 22<sup>nd</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear pleasant morning. and white frost. we were detained Some time a hunting our horses. about nine oClock at which time we Set out assended a Mountain and proceeded on came on a small Smooth prarie or plain, and run came through it. we met Reuben fields who Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Sent back to meet us, with a bag of Sammon and excelent root bread which they purchased from a nation of Indians who are Camped on a plain at the foot of the Moun<sup>t</sup> about 8 or 10 miles distance from this place we halted about one hour and a half eat hearty of the Sammon and bread, and let our horses feed. then we proceeded on the two men who had been back to look for the lost horse overtook us they had found the horse and portmanteaus, but had lost the horse they took with them. we proceeded on over a mountain and descended it down it to a valley which is Smooth and mostly handsome plains. Some groves of handsome tall large pitch pine timber. about 3 miles further we came to a large Indian village of the flat head n<sup>a</sup>tion<sup>2</sup> they appeared very glad to see

<sup>1</sup> This stream, already reached by Clark and given the name Collins Creek, is modern Lolo Creek, or Lolo Fork of the Clearwater. Not to be confused with Lolo Creek, the tributary of Bitter Root River.

<sup>2</sup> "They call themselves Cho punnish or Pierced noses." Clark, September 20. These Indians, more commonly known as Nez Percés, were among the

us ran meetting us with some root bread which they gave us to eat. we Camped by a branch near the village. the natives gave us dried Sammon and different kinds of the food. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark joined us this evening and informed us that the[y] had been on a branch of the Columbia River where he expected it is navigable for canoes and only 15 or 20 miles from this place & C. these natives have a large quantity of this root bread which they call Commass. the roots grow in these plains. they have kills engeaniously made where they Sweet [sweat] these roots and make them Sweet and good to the taste.<sup>1</sup>

Monday 23<sup>rd</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a fair morning. we purchased considerable of Sammon and commass roots from the natives. these Savages are now laying up food for the winter and in the Spring they are going over on the medicine River and Missourie River to hunt the buffalow. Some of them have fine copper kittles and different kinds of trinkets hanging about them. also they are fond of any kind of marchandize, but the blue beeds they want mostly. our officers gave the chiefs of this nation a flag a meddle and some other Small articles their is another village about 2 miles further down the plain they gave the chief of that village a flag and meddle also. these natives have a great many horses and live well. are well dressed in Elk deer and Mountain Sheep Skins. well dressed they have but a fiew buffalow Robes. the most of them have leather lodges and are now makeing flag lodges & C. we got up our horses towards evening all except one which we could not find. we loaded up left one man to look for his horse and procee<sup>d</sup> on down to the other village and Camped. had a Thunder Shower this evening. we bought some more Sammon and commass, Some dressed Elk Skins & C. from these villages who live like other.

Tuesday 24<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear morning. we went to look for our horses but found them much Scatered and mixed among the Indian horses which were numerous. Saw a number of Squaws

best of the natives of North America. Gen. O. O. Howard, who knew them well, having waged strenuous campaigns against them, considered that but few Indians in America were their superiors.

<sup>1</sup> The quamash or camas is an important article of food among the North-western Indian tribes. It is the bulbous root of a liliaceous plant which grows in moist places from California to Montana and British Columbia. It is dug in June and July, and may be eaten raw or cooked. It is agreeable to the taste, nutritious, and when cooked and dried can be kept for a year or more. Thwaites, III, 78, note 1.

digging commass roots in the plain the Soil verry rich and lays delightful for cultivation about 8 oClock A. M. we loaded our horses Several men Sick,<sup>1</sup> one man Sent back to look for 2 horses which was lost on the road. we set out and proceeded on the day warm we had a good road mostly plain but no water. Some Scattering pine timber. towards evening we came down on a fork of Columbia River and followed it down Some distance<sup>2</sup> then went on a small prarie Island and Camped. our hunters joined us had got 4 deer and two Sammon which they killed. Several of the natives followed us and Camped near us &C.

Wednesday 25<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a fair morning. three men went out a hunting. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went with an old chief down the River to look for timber which would answer for canoes the Natives have Several Small canoes at this place. this River is about 60 yards wide Some clifts of rocks along its Shores. the natives have a fishery little above our Camp. they caught Several fine Sammon this day. towards evening Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark returned and informed us that he had been 4 or 5 miles down to a fork of the River<sup>3</sup> which came in on the east Side he Saw Some pitch pine timber which he thought would answer for canoes near this forks on the opposite shore in the evening the man who Stayed at the village joined us had got his horse by hiring Indians to git him.

Thursday 26<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear pleasant morning. about 8 oClock we Set out and proceeded on down the River crossed a creek,<sup>4</sup> then crossed the River at a shole place the water to the horses belleys. we proceeded on down the South Side on a narrow plain thinly cov<sup>d</sup> with pitch pine timber.<sup>5</sup> made a pen round the officers lodge to put the baggage in. a number of the natives come down with us with droves of horses. some came down the N<sup>o</sup> fork with a Small raft, who had been some distance a fishing and bring down wood &C. Several of the party Sick with a relax by a Sudden change of diet and water as well as the

<sup>1</sup> At night, Gass naively records, "Captain Clarke gave all the sick a dose of Rush's Pills to see what effect that would have."

<sup>2</sup> The party had been descending the valley of modern Jim Ford Creek, an eastern tributary of the Kooskooskee. Coues locates the camp for the day on the latter river a mile or so above modern Oro Fino Creek.

<sup>3</sup> The North or Chopunnish Fork of the Kooskooskee River.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Oro Fino Creek.

<sup>5</sup> The camp was at the junction of North and South forks of the Clearwater. Here the party remained until October 7, engaged in constructing canoes in which to descend the Columbia. Because of this the name Canoe Camp was given to the place.

change of climate also. Several Indians came down in a small canoe & Camped near us.

Friday 27<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a fair morning the party divided into five different parties and went at falling five pitch pine trees for 5 canoes. all near our Encampments in the afternoon the man who went back to the Mountains for the 2 horses returned. had found one of the horses, and had killed a large deer and brought a part of it with him.

Saturday 28<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear morning. two men went out a hunting. all the party that were able to work went at making the canoes and oars. the natives visit us and catch some fresh sammon which we purchase from them we fixed some gig poles & C.

Sunday 29<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. a fair morning. 2 men went out a hunting. all hands employed at the canoes as usual. the Indians caught and Sold us Several Sammon, & C.

Monday 30<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1805. 2 hunters Stayed out last night. a fair morning. we continued on with the work. the party so weak that we git along Slow with the canoes. towards evening our hunters returned one of them had killed a deer and a pheasant.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The entry for September 30 is the last in the first section of Ordway's journal—the portion first discovered among the Biddle family papers in the autumn of 1913. At the end of this section of the narrative journal, occurs three tables; one of distances of various points, chiefly river mouths, from the mouth of the Missouri to Fort Mandan; another of distances from the head of the Missouri to the Pacific; and a third of latitudes of "Different remarkable places," between the mouth of the Missouri and Fort Mandan. Since Ordway obviously depended on the captains for this information, and since it is given in much greater detail in the Thwaites edition (Vol. VI) of the journals, it is not included here. The initial entry in the first of the two smaller volumes of the journal is for October 1, 1805. Preceding it is the following preface:

"Serg<sup>t</sup> Ordways Journal Commencing the first Oct 1805

"It being a minute relation of the various transactions and occurrences which took place during a voiage of two years 4 months and 9 days from the United States to the Pacific Ocean through the interior of the continent of North America.

"A Sketch of the beginning of Serg<sup>t</sup> John Ordways journal which commenced at River Duboise in the Year 1801, 11<sup>th</sup> of May under the directions of Capt Meriwether Lewis and Cap<sup>t</sup> William Clark, and patronised by the Government of the U. States. The individuals who composed the party engaged to essay the difficulties dangers & fatigues of this enterprise with the said officers; consists of the persons whose Names are in the later part of this book as well as the begining as above, not bein room here. So all that is on each Side of this leaf is coppied in the later end of this book and this is no account."



Tuesday 1<sup>st</sup> October 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we Continued on makeing our canoes as usal. built fires on Some of them to burn them out.<sup>1</sup> found them to burn verry well our hunters killed nothing this day

Wednesday 2<sup>nd</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a fair morning. two men Sent with Six horses up to the villages in order to purchase a quantity of Sammon and root bread which the natives call Commass. one hunter out in the hills we continued on with the work towards evening the hunter came to Camp had killed nothing but one prarie wolf which we eat. the party are so weak and unwell living without meat that our officers thought proper with the oppinion of the party to kill a good horse which was done and we eat the meat as earnest as though it had been the best meat in the world.<sup>2</sup> in the evening we bought a fiew fresh Sammon and a little commass from the Savages who are Camped near us.

Thursday 3<sup>rd</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear morning. we Continue on with the canoes as usal. Some of them forward.

Friday 4<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a fair morning. two men out to hunt Some of the canoes ready to dress out. Some of the party bought a fat dog.<sup>3</sup> the hunters killed nothing this day.

Saturday 5<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear cool morning a little white frost. the two men return<sup>d</sup> from the villages late last evening with their horses loaded with commass roots and some made in loaves and a considerable quantity of dryed Sammon & C. Several dressed Elk Skins and otter & C. we continue dressing off the canoes. got up all our horses 38 in number. we branded them on the near fore shoulder with a Stirrup Iron,<sup>4</sup> and cropped their fore mane so as we may know them at our return. the old chief who we leave the care of our horses with has engaged to go on with us past his nation and leave the horses in the care of his two sons our officers gave them some Small presents & C. an-

<sup>1</sup> "the greater number (of the men) are very weak. To save them from hard labour, we have adopted the Indian method of burning out the canoes." Gass.

<sup>2</sup> "we eat the meat with good Stomacks as iver we did fat beef in the States." Whitehouse.

<sup>3</sup> Which they ate. We shall shortly find dog meat a regular article of diet with the explorers—or at least as regular as the means of procuring the dogs rendered possible.

<sup>4</sup> One of the branding irons used by Lewis and Clark was found in 1892 on an island in the Columbia River a few miles above the Dalles. For an illustration of it see Wheeler, II, 118.

other Chief engaged to go with us also. towards evening we put two of the canoes which was finished in to the water.

Sunday 6<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1805. a pleasant morning. a hole or carsh [was] dug [to] hide our pack Saddles in. we got oars and poles ready. towards evening we got the other canoes ready to put in the river. Some gig poles got ready. an Indian raft seen floating down the kaskaskia [Kooskooskee] River. one of the men killed two ducks. after night burryed the pack Saddles &C.

## CHAPTER XI

DOWN THE COLUMBIA TO THE SEA, OCTOBER 7—  
NOVEMBER 20, 1805

Monday 7<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear morning. we put the other three canoes in to the River got them in readiness and loaded them about 3 o'clock P. m. we Set out on our journey to descend the River. proceeded on over several Sholes and rapids where we halled the canoes over sholes. Some part of the River is deep and current gentle &C. the hills and cliffs make near the River on each side. Saw old Indian Camps on Lar<sup>d</sup> side Came 21 miles and Camped on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday 8<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a fair morning. we delayed here Sometime changing the officers canoes &C. hid a canister of Powder by a broken top tree. about 9 o'clock we Set out and proceeded on Saw Some Indians horses on the Side of the hills on Star<sup>d</sup> Side. passed over Several bad rapids took in Some water by the waves. passed Some cliffs of rocks and barron hills on each Side. about 12 O'clock we halted at Some Indian Camps about 6 lodges of well looking Savages who had Several Small canoes and catch considerable of Sammon. we bought some from them. 2 dogs also. we proceeded on a Short distance and halted at Some more Camps at the foot of an Island where was Several Indian Camps. one of the canoes Struck a rock in the middle of the rapid and Swang round and Struck another rock and cracked hir So that it filled with water. the waves roared over the rocks and Some of the men could not Swim. their they Stayed in this doleful Situation untill we unloaded one of the other canoes and went and released them. 2 Indians went in a canoe to their assistance also. we got the men and the most of the baggage Safe to Shore. a few articles lost one tommahawk and a few light things. we put the baggage out and Camped on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side

<sup>1</sup> Coues locates the camp at the mouth of Bed Rock Creek, Nez Perce County, Idaho.

at high plains. a number of Savages visited us this evening—had Come about 18 miles to day<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday 9<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1805. a fair morning, and warm. we delayed to Repair the canoe and dry the baggage &C. the natives brought fresh Sammon and trade with us. the River hills Still continue high and broken on each Side. Some Scatering pine timber &C. the natives are very troublesome to us two Sentinels placed to keep them from Stealing from us. as the baggage was exposed. we got the canoe repaired in the evening we bought a considerable quantity of Sammon, a little commass roots. in the evening Some of our party fiddled and danced, which pleased the natives verry much. one of their women was taken with [a] fit by one of our fires. She began Singing Indian and to giving all around hir Some commass roots, and brasslets which hung about hir one of our party refused to take them from hir. She then appeared angry threw them in the fire. took a Sharp flint from hir husband and cut both of hir arms in Sundry places So that the blood gushed out. She Scraped the blood in hir hand and eat it, and So continued in this way about half an hour then fainted or went in to a fit Some time then came too by thier puting water on hir and Seemed to take great care of hir &C.

Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1805. a clear morning. the two guides who came with us from the Snake nation left us yesterday, and we expect they have returned back again.<sup>2</sup> we Set out eairly and procee<sup>d</sup> on down passed over a number of bad rapids took water in the canoes by the waves. pass<sup>d</sup> Several<sup>t</sup> camps of Indians where they had large fisherys we bought Some from them. they have pleanty of Small canoes for the purpose of fishing. about 11 oClock we came to a verry bad rapid which was full of rocks, we halted and took one canoe down at a time

<sup>1</sup> The accident to the canoe, which determined the location of today's camp, occurred 1½ miles below the mouth of Potlatch River, the principal northern tributary of the lower Clearwater. The captains named it in Colter's honor.

<sup>2</sup> This matter-of-fact entry conceals one of the bits of humor—or pathos, depending on the viewpoint taken—of the expedition. The "guides" were the faithful old Shoshoni, Toby, and his son. They left precipitately, without apprizing the white men of their intentions, or waiting to collect pay for their services. Lewis requested a Chopunnish chief to send a horseman after Toby to urge him to return and receive his pay; but the chief, with commendable frankness, advised against doing this, "as his nation would take his things from him before he passed their camp." Gass offers (October 9) the only explanation of the sudden desertion; "I suspect he was afraid of being cast away passing the rapids."

one of them Struck a rock in the rapid and broke a hole in hir Side but with Some difficulty we got hir Safe to Shore unloaded & repaired hur. the Indians caught some of the oars &c for us. we bought a little more Sammon and one or two dogs, and about 2 o.C. we Set out again and proceeded on as usal. passed Several Sholes where we had to wade and hale the canoes over pass<sup>d</sup> several more fishing camps. about 5 oClock P. M. we came to the Columbia River which is wide and deep. we went on down it a short distance and the wind blew so high from N W that we had come 20 miles to day and nearly a west course.<sup>1</sup> this great columbia River is about 400 yards wide and afords a large body of water and of a greenish coulour. the country on each Side is high barron and mostly broken Some high plains which look pleasant, but no wood only a fiew willows in Some places along the Shores.

Friday 11<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear morning. we Set out eairly. two Indians accomp<sup>y</sup> us in a small canoe. we proceeded on. at 8 oClock we halted at a large fishing Camp of Indians where we bought some Sammon and 8 or 10 fat dogs. &C. these Savages have among them pleanty of beeds and copper trinkets. copper kittles &C. which must have come from white people we proceeded on passed Several more fishing camps, where they have the Stone piled up in roes, so as to gig the Sammon at the Sides of the rocks &C. the country is barron and broken Some high plains. no timber. we can scarsely git wood enofe to cook a little victules a fiew willows in places along the Shores. passed over some rapids where the waves roled high. we roed 30 miles this day and Camped<sup>2</sup> at a fishing party of Indians, where we bought 3 or 4 more dogs and a little Sammon &C.

Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a fair morning. we set out eairly, and proceeded on as usal. passed a number of old fishing camps along the Shores. high plains no timber. we came 35 miles this day and Camped on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side little above a bad rocky

<sup>1</sup> The party had reached the point where the Clearwater loses itself in Snake River, the great southern fork of the Columbia. The towns of Lewiston, Idaho, and Clarkston, Wash., are on opposite sides of the Snake at this point. The camp was below the junction of the Clearwater and Snake, opposite Clarkston, and diagonally across from Lewiston.

<sup>2</sup> At "the mouth of a run in the starboard bend." Clark. Coues identifies this as modern Almota Creek, Whitman County. The camp was on or near the site of the town of Almota.

rapid.<sup>1</sup> our Small pilot canoe and the Indian canoe went over [the rapids] this evening.

Sunday 13<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1805. a rainy morning. wind high. delayed untill about 10 oClock then took down one canoe at a time below the rapids. all the men who could not swim carried each a load of baggage by land. about 12 we got safe below the rapids at 2 oClock cleared off. Saw a great number of fishing camps where the natives fish every Spring. they raft all their wood down the River a long distance and they put it up on Scaffels and take great care of it. towards evening we passed through a place in the River where it was all confined in a narrow channel of about 15 yards wide for about 2 miles and ran like a mill race large fisherys below in the Spring. Saw 2 Indians Swim their horses across the river to the N. Side and went on down the River. passed a creek<sup>2</sup> which came in on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side this afternoon the current Swift. the barrons and plains continue as usual.

Monday 14<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1805. a clear cold morning. the wind high N. W. we Set out as usual and proceeded on the current rapid. about noon we came to a bad rocky rapid where 2 canoes ran fast on a rock but we got off without Injury. Small Island on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side of the rapids we halted just below to dine. then proceeded on about 8 miles then came to another bad rapid at the head of an Island. the canoe I had charge of ran fast on a rock in the middle of the river and turned [word illegible] the rock. we attempted to git hir off but the waves dashed over hir So that She filled with water. we held hir untill one of the other canoes was unloaded and came to our assistance considerable of the baggage washed overboard, but the most of it was taken up below when the canoe got lightned She went off[f] of a sudden & left myself and three more standing on the rock half leg deep in the rapid water. untill a canoe came to our assistance. we got the most of the baggage to Shore two mens bedding lost one tomahawk, and some other Small articles a Small copper kittle &C. we Camped on an Island Star<sup>d</sup> Side at an old fishery where the natives had dried Sammon burried their wood covred over it. we

<sup>1</sup> The camp was in Whitman County just below the mouth of Alkali Flat Creek and at the head of Texas Rapids.

<sup>2</sup> Tucanona Creek, in Columbia County, was passed on the left and Palouse River, on the boundary between Whitman and Franklin counties on the right. The latter stream is much the larger and more important of the two. The camp was in Franklin County, thirteen miles below the mouth of Palouse River.

took some for our use &C.<sup>1</sup> one of the men killed 8 ducks the country continues barren and broken in places &C.

Tuesday 15<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1805. a clear cool morning. we delayed to dry the baggage which was wet. Some of the men went out and killed three geese and several ducks. about 3 o'clock P.M. we loaded the canoes and Set out again and proceeded on the current very rapid. the country continues barren as usual. Came 27 miles this day and Camped little above a bad rapid.

Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1805. we Set out as usual and proceeded on over the rocky rapids one of the canoes run fast on a rock in a bad rapid and Stayed until we went with a canoe to their assistance. got all Safe to land loaded and set out again and proceeded on. in the afternoon we came to the last bad rapid as the Indians Sign to us. we halted little above and carried some of the baggage past by land ab<sup>t</sup> one mile then took the canoes safe down and loaded them again and proc<sup>d</sup> on passed over several rapid places in the River. towards evening we arrived at the big forks. the large River which is wider than the Columbia River<sup>2</sup> comes in from a northerly direction. the Country around these forks is level Smooth plain. no timber. not a tree to be seen as far as our Eyes could extend. a few willows Scattering along the Shores. about 200 Savages are Camped on the point between the 2 rivers. we Camped near them. they Sold us eight fat dogs and Some fresh sammon. in the evening the whole band came Singing in their way to our Camp around our fires and Smoked with us, and appeared verry friendly. they have plenty of beads Copper & brass trinkets, about them which they Sign to us that they got them from Some traders on a River to the North of this place.

Thursday 17<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we delay here this day for our officers to take observations &C. the natives Stole a large ax from us last night. we bought Several more dogs from them as we can git no other meat to eat, &C. a number of the savages have red and blew cloth, but no buffalow Robes among them the River which we came down loses its name and

<sup>1</sup> "we have made it a point at all times not to take anything belonging to the Indians even their wood. but at this time we are Compelled to violate that rule and take a part of the split timber we find here bur[i]ed for fire wood, as no other is to be found in any direction." Clark.

<sup>2</sup> The party had come to the junction of Snake River with the Columbia. The "large river" of Ordway, was the main or northern fork of the Columbia, while his "Columbia" was Snake River, down which the party had been traveling.

is now Called kimoenom the North fork which is the largest is Called the Columbia River. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 2 men went up it ab<sup>t</sup> three miles<sup>1</sup> to the Indian lodges. they Saw a great quantity of Sammon in the R. they giked a verry large Sammon. they Saw a great number lay dead on the Shores which the Indians had giked. a great number of large fowls in the praries a Size larger than haith hens. Some of the men killed Several of them. our officers took down some of the language found these to be of the flat head nation but another tribe. our officers gave Some of the principal men meddles & flags and Some other Small articles these Savages are verry poor but peacable. Some of them naked and Some have dressed Elk and Deer Skins with the hair on. Some fiew rabbit Skins also. they have a numb<sup>r</sup> of horses among them. their grave yards are picketed in. and the place about these forks is verry pleasant—and Smooth & C.

Friday 18<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we delayed here untill after 12 oClock to day Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark measured Columbian River and the kimoenem Rivers and found the Columbia River to be 860 yards wide, and the kimoenem R. to be 475 [575] yards wide at the forks. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Compleated his observations and found the Latitude to produce [blank in Ms.] North our officers compared several of the natives languages and found these to be of the flat head nation but another tribe. about 2 oClock P. M. we Set out. two chiefs continued on with us. we proceeded on down the great Columbia River which is now verry wide about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile in General the country in general Smooth plains for about 10 miles down then the barron hills make close to the River on each Side passed Several Smooth Islands on which was large fishing Camps. large quantity of Sammon on their Scaffels. we Saw a great many dead Sammon floating in the River, and Saw the living jumping verry thick. we Saw a great number of horses near Some Indian villages the lodges of which was made of flags and large grass verry neatly worked. we passed over Several rapids. no timber along the Shores. we Camped on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side at a fiew willows<sup>2</sup> which we got to burn. a number of the Savages came to our Camp in Small canoes.

Saturday 19<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear cold morning. the natives brought us Some pounded Sammon. about 7 oC A M we Set out

<sup>1</sup> Ten miles, according to Clark himself, who states that the Indians pointed out to him, in the distance, the mouth of Yakima River.

<sup>2</sup> Four miles below the mouth of Walla Walla River, on or very near the boundary between Washington and Oregon.



proceeded on pass<sup>d</sup> high cliffs of rocks on each Side of the River. the natives are verry numerous. our officers gave one a meddle and some other small articles. this morning pass<sup>d</sup> several Small villages the Savages all hid themselves in their flag loges untill we passed them. the Indians are numerous along the River. the villages near each other and great quantitys of Sammon drying. we passed over several rapids which are common in this River. we discovred a verry high round mountain<sup>1</sup> a long distance distance down the River which appears to have Snow on the top of it. we came 36 miles this day and Camped on the South Side<sup>2</sup> an Indian village on the opposite Shore a number of the natives came over the River in their Small canoes to see us. when any of these Savages dye they bury them and all their property with them and picket in their grave yard. even their canoes are put around them.

Sunday 20<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear frosty morning. we Set out eairly. proceeded on passed a pleasant part of the Country level Smooth plains but no timber. the River Smooth. we saw Some pilicans and abundance of ravens and crows, as the Shores are lined with dead Sammon. about 12 oClock we halted at a village to dine where we bought a few roots &C. and Saw among them a number of articles which came from white people. Such as copper kittles Scarlet &C. passed many rapid places of water. the country continues as yesterday our hunters who went in the small canoe killed nine ducks and a goose to day. we came 46 miles this day. and Camped on the Starbord Side<sup>3</sup> no wood except a few Small willows.

Monday 21<sup>st</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear cold morning. we Set out eairly and proceeded on as usual we then halted at an Indian village where we bought a little wood and cooked breakfast. bought Some pounded Sammon from the natives, and Some white root cakes which is verry good. we Saw among them a number of fisher and rackoon Skins. Some otter Skins also. these Savages gave us any thing we asked them for, by our giving them any Small article as we pleased, as if they were in fear of us. we

<sup>1</sup> Supposed by Clark to be Mt. St. Helens, "one of the mountains laid down by Vancouver, as seen from the mouth of the Columbia River." Wheeler states that Clark's supposition was erroneous, and that the mountain seen was Mt. Adams.

<sup>2</sup> In Oregon, "six or seven miles below the mouth of Umatilla River." Coues.

<sup>3</sup> In the vicinity of Roosevelt, Klickitat County, Wash. For the identification of the location of today's camp see *post*, 346, note 2.

proceeded on passed River hills and cliffs of rocks on each side. passed over a number of bad rocky rapids where the River is nearly filled with high dark coloured rocks the water divided in narrow deep channels, bad whorl pools. passed several Islands and fishing fishing camps. Saw a great quantity of pounded Sammon Stacked up on the Shores. we saw a few scattering pine on the hills. we came about 32 miles this day and Camped<sup>1</sup> at some Indian lodges close under high cliffs of rocks on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side a handsome Spring flowed out of the cliffs. these savages have a few Elk and Deer Skins dressed with the hair on which they wear for covering. they have also a few blue cloth blankets &C.

Tuesday 22<sup>nd</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a fair morning. we Set out at Sunrise and proceeded on. passed a number of fisheries and a high Island which had towers of Solid rocks and verry high and rough. a roaring rapid at the Star<sup>d</sup> Side we went down a narrow channel on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side of the Island about 40 yards wide Several per-pinticular falls near its mouth. large fishing Camps at the lower end of the Island. this Is<sup>d</sup> is about 4 miles in length and high rough & rocky. a Short distance below we came to the first falls of the Columbia River.<sup>2</sup> we halted about noon a Short distance above at a large Indian villages. the huts of which is covred with white ceeder bark these Savages have an abundance of dry and pounded Sammon we bought Some from them and Some flag & grass mats. &C. they have a number of small canoes and a few horses our officers viewed the falls and found that we had a portage of about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile, on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side. So we went at carrying the baggage past the portage. hired Some horses from the natives to take the heavey baggage past. &C. so we got all except the canoes below the falls and camped close under a high range of cliffs of rocks, where the body of the River beat against it and formed a verry large eddy. we Saw a number of large Sea otter below the falls in the whorl pools and eddys the natives are verry troublesome about our Camp.

Wednesday 23<sup>rd</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a clear pleasant morning. about 8 oClock Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went with the most of the party and took all

<sup>1</sup> In Klickitat County, Wash., four miles below the mouth of John Day River.

<sup>2</sup> They had reached the Great (or Celilo) Falls of the Columbia. The Columbia from this point to below the Dalles is "a marvellous product of nature." The region is volcanic, and through the lava beds that have been poured forth in past ages the Columbia forces its way. with walls and cliffs of lava rising at times 2,000 or 3,000 feet above its bed. Wheeler gives (II. 116) a spirited brief description of this section of the river.

the canoes across the River and halled them about a quarter of a mile over the rocks past a perpinticular fall of 22 feet and put them in a verry rapid channel below. this portage has been used by the natives takeing their Small canoes round and close below the great falls is a large fishery in the spring of the year and the flies at this time are verry numerous and trouble us verry much. as the ground is covred with them we got the canoes all in the channel below the big fall then the best Swimmers went on board and took them through the whorl pools a little more than half a mile then came to two more pitches of ab<sup>t</sup> three feet each we let the canoes down by ropes. one of them broke loose from us and went over Safe and was taken up by the natives below. towards evening we got the canoes all Safe down to camp without dammage. The Latitude at this place which is called the grand falls of the Columbia River as taken by Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis is 45° 42' 57.3" North. the hight of the particular falls in all is 37 feet eight Inches, and has a large rock Island in the midst of them and look Shocking the water divided in several channels by the rocks. Some of the cooks at camp bought several fat dogs<sup>1</sup> this day. in the evening one of our chiefs Signed to us that the natives had a disign to kill us in the night, So we prepared for them. &C.

Thursday 24<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1805. the natives did not attempt to trouble us last night. a clear pleasant morning. we loaded the canoes and Set out about 9 oClock and proceeded on the current rapid we went through a narrows<sup>2</sup> where the river is all confined in a narrow channel of about 20 [45] yds and verry rapid and bad whorl pools, and went on verry well towards evening we came to another narrows we camped little above at an Indian village which was made half under the surface of the ground and the upper part well formed and covred with white ceeder bark. they are verry comfortable houses. we bought a number of fat dogs, crambries and white cakes of root bread. high prarie and barron hills near the River but appears to be some timber back from the River.

<sup>1</sup> "the flesh of which the most of the party have become fond of from the habits of using it for Some time past." Clark.

<sup>2</sup> The Short Narrows of the Columbia. Because of the difficulty of making a portage at this point Clark "determin'd" to shoot the Narrows, "notwithstanding the horrid appearance of this agitated gut swelling, boiling & whorling in every direction." Their safe passage excited the astonishment of the neighboring Indians, who gathered on the rock above to view the performance.

Friday 25<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1805. a fair morning. we carried some of our baggage by land about one mile past the worst of the narrows. then took one canoe at a time down the narrows and whorl pools. one of the canoes filled with water running through the narrows we got all below and loaded the canoes we have now 16 bags of Sammon on board about 3 oClock P. M. we Set out and proceeded on the narrows continued about 2 miles and verry rapid. 2 Small Islands of Sollid rock stood in these narrows one of the canoes was near dashing in peaces by Strikeing hir bow against the upper point of one of them. the River between these narrows and the great falls rises at high water 48 feet perpenticular by its being confined by the different narrows. near the lower end of the narrows we saw a war party of Indians which had jest Swam the River to the Star<sup>d</sup> Side with their horses. they had some venison & C with them. we halted a few minutes and our officers Smoaked with them they gave us some bears oil and a little venison and Some fresh fish. we went [on] our 2 chiefs told us that their was a nation below which they were at war with and they did not wish to go any further with us so our officers Settled with them and they returned back to their nation. we then went on Saw Some drumm fish jumping in the River the River gitting Smoth. Saw pine and oak timber near the Shores we can still see the round high mountain some distance distance a head yet. we Camped below the mouth of a creek<sup>1</sup> on a point of rocks on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side. the country timbred back a little from the River.

Saturday 26<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1805. a clear pleasant morning. our officers delay here for observations & C. and to repair the canoes also. Several men went out in the timbred land to hunt. we unloaded the canoes and halled them out of the water to Smooth their bottoms and repair them. one of the men giced a Sammon Trout in the River. towards evening the hunters returned to Camp had killed 5 Deer a goose and a gray Squerrell. a number of Savages came in canoes made in form of Sciffs to our Camp. our officers took down some of the language from these Savages and compared with all other we have pass<sup>d</sup> and find them to be all of the flat head nation nation but different tribes. we think the flat head nation to be more than ten thousand Strong. the River raised considerable this afternoon.

<sup>1</sup> Mill Creek, in Wasco County, Ore. The site of the camp is just below the steamboat landing at The Dalles. Wheeler.

Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a fair morning. the wind high from the west. Six men went out to hunt. some of the Indians Stayed with us our officers gave one of the principal men a meddle and some other small articles. towards evening the hunters returned to camp had killed four Deer. we set the Indians across the River. the waves roled verry high.

Monday 28<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. rained hard the later part of last night. cleared up this morning we then loaded the canoes and Set out proceeded on down a fiew miles and halted at a Small village on the Star<sup>d</sup> side where we bought several dogs Some berrys &C. Saw a british musket copper tea kittles &C. among them. we then went on a Short distance further the wind the wind rose So high NW that obledged us to halt on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side under Some cliffs of rocks.<sup>1</sup> the Indians came in their canoes to our camps. one of the party killed a Deer and wounded another this evening a Short distance back near a pond. a little rain this evening.

Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a cloudy morning. we Set out cairly, and proceeded on about 6 miles and halted at Some Indian lodges where we bought a number more dogs and proceeded on the current gentle passed a great number of Indian villages on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side and one on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side. Saw 2 or 3 cabbens on the Lar<sup>d</sup> side which is the first we Seen on that Side on this River. Saw a beautiful Spring on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side, which run off a high clift of rocks, and fell off[f] the clift upwards of a hundred feet perpinticular. the country Mountaineous. high cliffs on the River. mostly covred with pine timber. Some cotten wood on the narrow bottoms. Some willow also we bought several more dogs at one of the villages. we Came 26 miles this day and Camped at a village on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side Saw Snow on a mountain on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side.<sup>2</sup>

Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>t</sup> 1805. a cloudy morning. we bought 3 dogs of the Indians and Set out and proceeded on the River wide and Strait the current gentle. the timber thick on each Side. Saw a number of beautiful Springs which came in on each side. the narrow bottoms along the Shores are covred with cotten timber

<sup>1</sup> The camp was in Wasco County, Ore., about four miles below The Dalles.

<sup>2</sup> The camp was in Skamania County, Wash., eight miles below the mouth of White Salmon River. The snow-covered mountain seen to the left was Mt. Hood. Of its appearance as seen from the camp on October 25-27 at the mouth of Mill Creek, Wheeler (II, 161) writes: "Mt. Hood from this spot is a picture. Clean-cut, like a cameo, white, with everlasting snows and glaciers; monolithic in appearance and comparatively near at hand, it lives in one's memory like a strain of rapturous music from one of the masters."

and under brush. the after part of the day rainy and foggy. one of the hunters killed a Deer we Saw a great number of Swan and geese along the Shores. Some turkey bazzards which had white under their wings. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed a black loon. towards evening we heard a great roaring a Short distance a head which we expect is another falls. we passed the mouth of a River<sup>1</sup> which came in on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side about 40 yards wide we passed a large Indian village on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side a Short distance above the big Shoote. we Camped close above the Shoote.<sup>2</sup> a number of the Savages came to our Camp and Signed to us that they they were Surprized to See us they thought we had rained down out of the clouds. Several of the party went to the village and was treated verry friendly. we had come about 15 miles this day.

Thursday 31<sup>st</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> 1805. Cloudy. we unloaded the canoes and went at halling them past the Shoote took one down at a time over verry high rocks. this Shoote is full of rocks and roles verry high waves &C. the after part of the day pleasant.

Friday 1<sup>st</sup> November 1805. a fair morning. the wind high from the N. E. and cold. we carried all our baggage past the portage a number of Indians with canoe loads of pounded Sammon are going down the River tradeing. they are carrying their loads past the portage with us & their canoes also. we then took down the rest of the canoes. got them all Safe below the big Shoote and Camped their on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side.<sup>3</sup>

Saturday 2<sup>nd</sup> Nov 1805. a fair morning. we carried some of our baggage past the last rapid about one mile further and took one canoe down at a time partly loaded. about 10 oClock A.M. we got all Safe below the last bad rapid we can git any account of from the natives. then loaded up the canoes. 2 Indians came to us from a village below who had red and blue cloath blankets which appeared new one had a brass musket and powder flask a little powder &C. about 12 we set out passed a large Island mostly prarie which our officers name Strabery Island. we halted a few minutes and killed Several geese. pass<sup>d</sup> Several old villages about or a little below the big Shoote on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side. at the foot of said Island we pass<sup>d</sup> over a rapid which [has] high waves in it the hills high on each Side but mostly covred with pine timber.

<sup>1</sup> Wind River, in Skamania County, Wash. Coues.

<sup>2</sup> "on an island right at the head of the rapids." Wheeler. The party had reached the Cascades of the Columbia; the "big Shoote" was the Upper Cascades.

<sup>3</sup> "at the head of Strawberry Island." Wheeler.

proceeded on about 4 miles further. the River got more Smooth the current gentle wide and Strait.<sup>1</sup> passed the m<sup>o</sup> of a creek on the Lar<sup>d</sup> side Saw a number of Spring runs flowing from the high cliffs and Mountains. Some of which falls off about 100 feet perpendicular we came 21 miles this day & Camped under a verry Shelving cliff on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side.

Sunday 3<sup>rd</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a foggy morning. the geese verry plenty on a marshey green below the Camp one of our hunters Shot Several flying. Several Savages Stayed with us last night they have 2 canoes with them. we perceive the tide rise and fall a little at this place. one of the hunters went out a Short distance to hunt, and killed a large Deer. about 9 oClock we set out and proceeded on the fog So thick that we could not See across the River. pass<sup>d</sup> Several Sand Islands about noon we halted to dine at the mouth of a River which is filled with quick Sand and is wide and Shallow our officers name this River Quick Sand River<sup>2</sup> on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side. here we perceive the tide water. we Saw the round mountain some distance a head which we expect is the same we saw Some time past. our officers think that it is the Same which was discovered by Lieu<sup>t</sup> Hood and is called Hood Mountain.<sup>3</sup> the after part of the day pleasant the River is better than a mile wide in general. towards evening we met several Indians in canoes they Signed to us that their was Some white people and vessells &C. passed Several bottoms covred with cotten and oak pine &C. the Country not so Mountaineous as above. we came 13 miles this day and Camped on a verry large Island<sup>4</sup> which is mostly prairie and large ponds. which is full of Swan Geese brants and ducks &C. Several Indians camped with us. at Sunset we got a small canoe and carried in the pond Several Swan geese and brants killed by the party to day and this evening.

Monday 4<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. Cloudy the tide Ebbs and flowes ab<sup>t</sup> 3 feet at this place one of the hunters killed a Deer on said Island. about 7 oClock we set out and proceeded on passed Several

<sup>1</sup> The party had reached tidewater on the river. From this point it is a great tidal stream varying in width from a mile to ten or twelve miles as the ocean is approached.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Sandy River, Multnomah County, Ore.

<sup>3</sup> Mt. Hood was now some distance in the rear of the party. It was discovered in 1792 by Lieutenant Broughton, of Vancouver's expedition, who named it in honor of the English admiral.

<sup>4</sup> Which they named Diamond Island; it is modern Government Island, a few miles above Vancouver, Wash.

large Islands partly covered with cotton timber & partly prairie. proceeded on about 8 miles came to a large new village on the Lar<sup>d</sup> side consisting of about 35 Cabbens and have 50 fine canoes they have considerable of cloaths of different kinds among them, wool hats &C. we bought several dogs, and some excelent roots nearly like potatoes<sup>1</sup> these Savages killed and brought in Several Deer to day. we then went on a Short distance farther & halted to dine on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side two canoe loads of Savages followed us and Stole Cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks pipe tommahawk which he had been Smoaking with them. we could not find it with them. they had several muskets on board of their canoes. we then proceeded on passed Islands the most of the way on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side and timbered bottoms on each side. Some oak mostly cotton timber the pine continues back from the River. we passed Several large villages on each side the natives verry numerous the country appears good the Soil rich. towards evening we met several Indians in a handsom canoe which had an Immage on the bow. one of the Indians could talk & Speak Some words [of] English Such as curseing and blackguard they had a Sturgeon on board and have five muskets on board. we discovered a high round mountain Some distance back from the River on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side which is called mount rainy.<sup>2</sup> Saw a number of sea otter in the River. we Came 28 miles this day and Camped after dark on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side the geese and brants verry thick.<sup>3</sup>

Tuesday 5<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. hard rain the later part of last night. we proceeded on about 10 miles and passed a verry large village at the foot of an Island<sup>4</sup> on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side they have a number of canoes Some of the Savages came out in the River in their canoes to see us they wanted to trade with us for muskets offered us dressed Elk Skins. passed Several Islands Some of the hunters killed one Swan and Several brants. we had Several

<sup>1</sup> "The roots are of a superior quality to any I had before seen; they are called whapto; resemble a potatoe when cooked, and are about as big as a hen egg." Gass. "The plant, *Sagittaria variabilis*, is one of the best-known members of the monocotyledonous order *Alismaceae*." Coues.

<sup>2</sup> Not Mt. Rainier, but Mt. St. Helens, in Skamania County, Wash. Clark mistakenly supposes that this is the peak (Mt. Adams) seen by the party on October 19.

<sup>3</sup> They were so "thick" that they kept the explorers awake nearly all night. Coues locates the camp at Knapp's Landing, Clarke County, Wash., 5½ miles below the mouth of Willamette River.

<sup>4</sup> Bachelor's Island, opposite the mouth of Lewis River, according to Coues.



Small Showers of rain we Came 31 miles to day and Camped on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Shore.<sup>1</sup> the pine hills make close to River.

Wednesday 6<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. Several Showers of rain in the course of last night. we set out as usual and proceeded on Shortly passed a Small village on the Lar<sup>d</sup> Side Several Indians came out in a canoe to trade with us we bought Some fresh fish and some roots. we passed large bottoms covered with cotton timber pass<sup>d</sup> 2 old villages which was Evacuated. the wind rose from the west towards evening So that the waves run high. we Came 29 miles this day and Camped on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side close under a cliff of rocks.<sup>2</sup>

Thursday 7<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a foggy cool morning. we set out early and proceeded on about 10 oClock we halted at an Indian Village where we bought Some fresh fish and Some roots. we proceeded on passed a number of Islands which are low and marshy. partly covered with willows &C. the hunters killed a Swan and Several geese to day and Camped on the Star<sup>d</sup> Side at a Spring run.<sup>3</sup>

Friday 8<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a Cloudy morning. we Set out as usual. the waves high tossed us ab<sup>t</sup> passed round a point in to a bay which we Call Shallow bay<sup>4</sup> where the River is 5 or 6 miles wide we can see along distance a head we expect we can see the M<sup>o</sup> of the Columbian River. we but it appears a long distance off. we halted in the Shallow bay at some old Indian Camps to dine the Swan and geese are verry plenty in this bay. Some of the party killed Several ducks &C. we then proceeded on an Indian Canoe and Several Indians in met us we bought Several fresh fish from them. the waves roled So high that we were obliged to land<sup>5</sup> on the Same Shore Star<sup>d</sup> Side and took great pains to keep the canoes from filling with water. the River water is gitting so brackish that we cannot drink of it at full tide. the evening rainy.

Saturday 9<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. rained hard the greater part of last night, and the wind rose so high N.W. that we had to unload the

<sup>1</sup> In Columbia County, Ore., three miles above the mouth of Kalama River which enters the Columbia from the east, in Cowlitz County, Wash.

<sup>2</sup> One mile below Cape Horn. Coues. They had difficulty in finding a suitable camping spot, but at length by moving the stones aside "made a place sufficiently large for the party to lie leavil on." Clark.

<sup>3</sup> Opposite Pillar Rock, a well-known landmark on the lower Columbia.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Gray's Bay, which indents western Wahkiakum County, Wash.

<sup>5</sup> The camp for today was on the west side of Gray's Bay.

canoes in the night. this morning wet rained the most of the day and the wind So high up the River that [it] caused the tide to raise much higher than common so we had to moove our loads and Some of the Camps further from Shore. Some of the party killed Several ducks in the course of the day.

Sunday 10<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. considerable of rain fell last night. a rainy morning. the waves not So high as yesterd<sup>y</sup> we loaded the canoes and Set out and went on passed high cliffs of rocks, and fine Springs. we Saw porpises in the River. Saw a number of Sea otter, Sea gulls, ducks &C. continued raining hard ab<sup>t</sup> noon the wind rose So high that [it] obledged us to turn back from a point of rocks and roe about 2 miles back into a cove before we could git a place to unload the canoes. we got in to the harbour and unloaded the canoes and Stayed untill towards evening. then loaded again thinking to find a Safer harbour. we went on a Short distance to a Spring run where we Camped.<sup>1</sup> the wind contin<sup>d</sup> So high that we could not proceed. the hills and pine timber make close to the River on each Side. we had scarsely room for to camp.

Monday 11<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. rained hard the greater part of last night. a rainy wet morning. our Robes all wet as we have no Shelter that will keep the rain from us. the wind continued So high that we did not attempt to move this day. ab<sup>t</sup> 10 oClock four Indians came in a canoe to our Camp we bought a number of Sammon Trout from them. they tell us that they have Seen vessels in the mouth of this River and one man by the name of M<sup>r</sup> Haily who tradced among them, but they are all gone. these Savages went in their canoe across the River in the high waves.<sup>2</sup> Some of our party gixed and Shot 16 Sammon Trout.

Tuesday 12<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a hard Storm continued all last night, and hard Thunder lightning and hail this morning we Saw a mountain on the opposite Shore covred with Snow. the rain continued hard all day. we moved our Camp a Short distance further up the River to the mouth of a creek and got a more comfortable Camp. we gixed several more Trout in this creek.

<sup>1</sup> On the lee side of Point Ellice, and directly across the river from Astoria. Wheeler.

<sup>2</sup> They crossed the river, here about five miles wide, Clark writes, "through the highest sees I ever saw a small vettle ride. Their canoe is small, maney times they were out of sight before the[y] were 2 miles off certain it is they are are the best canoe navigators I ever saw."

Wednesday 13<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. hard rain continued all last night a rainy morning. in the afternoon three men Set out in the Small canoe in order to go down towards the mouth of the River and see what discovrees they could make. as the wind continues So high that obledges us to stay.

Thursday 14<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. the Storm continues, and obledges us to Stay in this disagreeable harbour with nothing but pounded Sammon to eat. one of the men returned who had been down the River and informed us that they went down to an Indian Village in the bay about 10 miles down but Saw no white people. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and four men Set out by land to go down the River to the Mouth.

Friday 15<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a wet morning. about 10 oClock A.M. cleared off the after part of the day calm and pleasant we loaded up the canoes and at low tide we Set out and went down about 5 miles passed an old Indian village a little below the cliffs pass<sup>d</sup> Several Small creeks. the country below the cliffs is lower and covred with small timber we Camped in a verry large bay<sup>1</sup> on a Sand beach on L Side one of the men who went down the River first joined us. Several Indians with him. he informed us that the Savages at the village Stole two of their guns when they were asleep last night, but when Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis went to the vilage they Scared them So that they gave them up again. we took plank from the old village to make us Camps & C.

Saturday 16<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a clear cool morning. several men went out a hunting. we put our baggage out to dry. towards evening the hunters all except one returned to Camp had kill<sup>d</sup> four Deer and a number of geese brants and ducks. a number of Savages Stayed with us all day.

Sunday 17<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a clear morning Several of the party went out a hunting, and Several more for meat. in the after part of the day the hunters returned to Camp had killed two Deer and Several geese and brants & C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and party returned to Camp also, and informed us that they had been about 30 miles down which took them on the Sea Shore and a verry bad road the most of the way. they Saw the harbour where the vessells had lain but they were all gone.

Monday 18<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. Cloudy. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark myself and 10 more of the party set out in order to go down and see the passiffic

<sup>1</sup> Baker Bay. The camp for the next ten days was near the southeast, or landward end of the bay, near Chinook Point. On or near this site today is Fort Columbia, one of the country's important modern seacoast fortifications.

ocean. we proceeded on round Hailys bay<sup>1</sup> crossed two Rivers in s<sup>d</sup> bay. one of the party killed a verry large turkey buzzard<sup>2</sup> which had white under its wings, and was nine feet from the points of the wings, and 3 feet 10 Inches in length, and everey way proportioned. we proceeded on round high clifts of rocks where we had much trouble to pass. towards evening we arived at the Cape disappointment on the Sea Shore. went over a bald hill where we had a handsom view of the ocean. we went on a Short distance on the coast and Camped for the night.

Tuesday 19<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. cloudy a light Sprinkling of rain the later part of last night we proceeded on the coast over high rough hills Some places prarie and bald hills. one of the hunters killed a Deer. we halted and eat a part of the Deer and went on over a verry bad rough way along the coast. high towers of rocks Standing out in the edge of the ocean. we got over these rough hills the country appears low further on the coast. So we went on the Sand beach about 10 miles distant from Cape dissipoiment, then turned back, cut across the woods a near way, and Camped at Chineck River in Hailys bay.

Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a fair morning. one of our hunters went out a short distance to Some ponds & killed several brants & ducks. we eat them and went on up the the other River and vilage the Indians had all left the village so we made a raft and one man went across and got a canoe we then returned to Camp. a great number of Indians at Camp. our men at Camp had killed Several Deer, geese and brants &C. ‡

<sup>1</sup> Haley's Bay was the name by which the explorers called modern Baker Bay, on which they were encamped. It was named for an American trader concerning whom the Indians had much to say to the explorers. Cape Disappointment (below), still so called, is the northern headland separating Baker Bay from the ocean. It was named by John Meares, who in 1788 explored this portion of the coast, but failed to recognize the entrance to the Columbia. This accounts for the names (Disappointment and Deception) he gave to the cape, and to the bay within.

<sup>2</sup> The bird was a Californian condor, which grows quite as large as the more celebrated condor of the Andes. Coues.

## CHAPTER XII

AT FORT CLATSOP, NOVEMBER 21, 1805—MARCH 22, 1806

Thursday 21<sup>st</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a cloudy and a little rain The Latitude of Hailys bay or at our Incampment at the point above is 46° 19' 11 $\frac{7}{10}$  Min North. the Natives value their Sea otter Skins verry high. our officers being anxious to purchase a robe made of two of those animels, they offered great prices in cloaths trinkets &C. but they would not take any thing except blue beeds. at length they purchasd the Robe for a beeded belt which our Intrepters Squaw had these animels are scarce & hard to kill.

Friday 22<sup>nd</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a hard Storm arose the later part of last night and continues raining and the wind high from the S.W. the waves rolled So high and the tide raised much higher than common dashed one of our canoes against the logs and was near Splitting it before we got it out. dammaged it and obledged us to move some of our Camps.

Saturday 23<sup>rd</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. Still continues rainy and high wind Several men went out a Short time a hunting and killed 3 Deer and 21 fowls. a number of Savages visited us &C.

Sunday 24<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a clear pleasant morning. a white frost Several men went out a hunting we put out our baggage to air. The Columbian River at this place is three miles 660 yards wide. Some of two nations of Indians came to our Encampment the Clatsop and Chinuck nations they behave very well as yet. our officers conclude with the oppinion of the party<sup>1</sup> to cross the River

<sup>1</sup> Thwaites publishes (III, 246-48) the record of the individual votes given on this occasion. An overwhelming majority were in favor of crossing the river and searching there for a suitable location. It is interesting to note that the opinions of York and "Janey," who was, of course, Sacajawea, were duly taken along with the rest. The latter was "in favour of a place where there is plenty of Pota\*." The determining factors in the decision reached were twofold: a desire to be as near the seacoast as possible, in order to be able to make salt and to intercept any trader's vessel that might come into the mouth of the river; and to locate in the region where the most game for subsistence might be had. According to the information of the Indians the region south of the Columbia most abounded in elk.

and look out a place for winters quarter Some where as near the ocean as possible on the account of makeing Salt.

Monday 25<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a clear pleasant morning. we put the canoes in the River [and] loaded up. our officers bought two more sea otter Skins of the natives. we then Set out and came about 9 miles up the River and attempted to cross over to the opposite Shore but the waves [were] So high that the canoes were near filling. So we turned back to Shore again and kept along the Shore about 4 miles above Shallow bay and Camped.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday 26<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a Cloudy wet morning. we Set out eairly went about one mile then crossed the River and went down along the the South Shore passed Several Islands, halted at a village of the Clatsop nation. they gave us plenty to eat and appeared verry friendly. we bought a fiew wapatoes roots, &C the day rainy and cold. we went on pass<sup>d</sup> Several low marshy Islands which was covred with course grass, and willows the Shore is high land covred thick with pine timber and under brush. we Camp<sup>d</sup> in a thick part of wood.

Wednesday 27<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. rained all last night. Several Indians came from the village to trade their wapatoes roots with us. we went on across a bay then turned a cape & where we could perceive a considerable of current in the River we went on about one mile further the waves ran so high that obledged us to halt at an old fishery.<sup>2</sup> hard rain.

Thursday 28<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. a hard Storm. the wind high from the N. West. Several men went out to hunt but killed nothing hard rain all day.<sup>3</sup>

Friday 29<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and five men set out with the Small canoe in order to go down the River to look out a place for winter quarters. Showery and Some hail in the course of the day.

<sup>1</sup> Opposite Pillar Rock, and near the site of the encampment of November 7.

<sup>2</sup> The camp, where the party was to remain until December 7, was "on the neck of Land Which joins Point William to the main." Clark. Point William, so named in Clark's honor, was modern Tongue Point. Wheeler says the camp was on the south side of the Point, while Thwaites has it "facing the site of Astoria, near the spot where the government now has a hydrographic station." Since the neck of land, connecting the Point with the mainland, was only fifty yards wide the two descriptions do not involve much actual difference as to the site of the camp.

<sup>3</sup> "O! how disagreeable is our Situation dureing this dreadfull weather." Clark.

Saturday 30<sup>th</sup> No<sup>v</sup> 1805. Some of the party killed three ducks. the after part of the day clear.

Sunday 1<sup>st</sup> December 1805. a cloudy morning. Several of our men are unwell living on pounded sammon only.<sup>1</sup>

Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. a Cloudy wet morning. Several men went out a hunting. one of them returned towards evening. had killed an Elk Six men went with a canoe after the meat.

Tuesday 3<sup>rd</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. Cloudy about 10 oClock A. M. the men returned with the meat. 2 hunters Stayed out a hunting a number of Indians came in a Canoe to our Camp. in the evening the two hunters returned had killed Six Elk about 5 miles distance from this place.

Wednesday 4<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. a rainy wet morning. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor & Six men Set out to go and dress and take care of the Elk meat. continued Storming & high wind all day.

Thursday 5<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. rainy dissagreeable weather. about noon Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and three men returned and informed us that they had found a tollarable good place for our winters quarters about 15 miles down the South Shore, a Short distance up a Small River. they had killed 7 Elk and five Deer. 2 men stayed to take care of the meat.

Friday 6<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. about noon the Storm arose and the tide raised about 2 feet higher than common So that the water came in to our Camp So that we moved our Camps to higher ground. the Storm con<sup>t</sup> all day.

Saturday 7<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. the morning clear we put our canoes in the water loaded up and set out and proceeded on down the River. the Shore is covred thick with pine and under brush. pass<sup>d</sup> several Spring runs. the waves ran verry high. we could not land untill we turned a point in a bay<sup>2</sup> where we halted and cooked a young Deer which the hunters had killed the other day. the men who had been out to take care of the meat joined us with 4 Elk hides but no meat the distance so great and the weather so bad that they brought no meat. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks servant

<sup>1</sup> The "diat" for several days having consisted of dried pounded fish boiled in salt water, Clark now directed that "in future the party mix the pounded fish with fresh water." Sacajawea, however, effected, for the time being, a more marked change in the captain's menu. She gave him "a piece of bread made of flour which She had reserved for her child and carefully Kept untill this time," but which, becoming wet, had soured. Not having tasted bread for several months, Clark ate it with "great satisfaction."

<sup>2</sup> Young's Bay, which Clark named Meriwether's Bay, in honor of Captain Lewis whom he supposed (mistakenly) to be the first white man to survey it.

did not come up with the rest. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Stayed with one canoe and waited for him a Short time we proceeded on the waves roled verry high. the canoe I was in ran on a sand barr and was near filling. but the waves took hir off without injury. we proceed<sup>d</sup> on round a bay then went up a River ab<sup>t</sup> 3 miles and landed at the place appointed for winters quarters.<sup>1</sup> this River is about 100 yd<sup>s</sup> wide at this place but the tide water extends further up. we unloaded the canoes and carried all our baggage about 2 hundred yards on a rise of ground and thicket of handsom tall Strait pine and balsom fir timber and Camped here we intend to build a fort and Stay if game is to be found thro. this winter season.

Sunday 8<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. one canoe taken away from the landing by the tide last night. a hard white frost this morning, and cold. 12 men was dispatched with two canoes after Elk meat Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 5 men went across by land to the ocean in order to blaze a road and look out a place to make Salt &C. in the evening the men returned with a fine chance of Elk meat. we formed an Encampment &C.

Monday 9<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. rained the greater part of last night I went with Eight men after the remainder of the meat. rained hard all day. we returned towards evening with the meat and found the canoe which the tide took off the other night. 4 Indians came in a canoe to see &C.

Tuesday 10<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. the Indians left us this morning. all hands wen[t] at clearing away the ground for the huts. rained hard the most of the day, towards evening Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 3 of his party returned from the ocean and informed us that it was about 7 miles to the ocean the way they blazed a road. they was at a Small village of the Clatsop nation of Indians on the coast. they treated them in a friendly manner. considerable of prarie land on the Coast &C. Some low marshes also.

Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. we began raiseing one line of our huts. rained the greater part of the day. George Gibson Sick.

Thersday 12<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. a number of the Clatsop Indians visited us. we finished raiseing one line of our huts.

Friday 13<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. cloudy & rain we raised another line of our huts and began the last line of our huts forming three

<sup>1</sup> The site of Fort Clatsop, about to be built to house the party during the winter, was on the first point of high land on the west side of Lewis and Clark River, about three miles above its mouth. For an account of the site and its present appearance see Wheeler, II, 194-98, and Oregon Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1900, 13-23.



[sides of a] Square and 7 rooms 16 by 18 feet large. the other Square we intend to picket and have gates at the 2 corners, so as to have it a defensive fort.<sup>1</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis bought Several kinds of curious Skins from the natives as a curiosity, such as wild cat and some other Small Skins which the Indians Call Shugolell which they make Robes of. in the evening our 2 hunters returned had killed 17 Elk.

Saturday 14<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. continues wet and rainy. we continued on with the huts. 2 men employed Splitting out plank to cover our huts with. we finished raising the other line of huts & began covring one room for a meat house.

Sunday 15<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and the most of the party set out with three canoes to go after the 17 Elk. went up as far as possible with the canoes then packed each man 2 loads each, and went after the third and got scattered night over took some of us and I Whitehouse Collins and Hugh Mcneal got lost and Stayed out all night with out fire.

Monday 16<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. rained hard all last night and cold we Suffered with wet & cold all last night, and could not make fire for every thing we had was wet. we soon found ourselves this morning and went to Camp put the meat on board the canoes and the loads the men brought in this morning, and all except 5 or 6 went down to Camp or fort hard rain and high wind.<sup>2</sup> those men who Stayed in the woods went after the rest of the meat. we put the meat in in house.

Tuesday 17<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. a little Snow and hail fell last night and continues this morning. we went at chinking up our huts and Splitting plank &C. cut our meat & hung it in the meat house &C.

Wednesday 18<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. cloudy and rain. Several men sent<sup>3</sup> with 2 canoes across the bay after Some plank. they returned towards evening with the canoes loaded with plank which they took from Some old fishing Camps. a little hail and frozen rain & cold.

<sup>1</sup> Two diagrams of the fort, drawn by Clark, are reproduced by Thwaites (III, 268, 298). Neither of them agrees with Ordway's description.

<sup>2</sup> "The winds violent Trees falling in every derection, whorl winds, with gusts of rain Hail & Thunder, this kind of weather lasted all day, Certainly one of the worst days that ever was!" Clark.

<sup>3</sup> Clark records this trip as occurring December 19. In similar fashion the visit from the savages noted by Ordway December 19 is given by Clark as of December 20.

Thursday 19<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. rained all last night, and continues hard this morn<sup>g</sup>. I was taken verry unwell last night. the men in general are in good health. Several of the Clatsop Savages came to visit us. &C.

Friday 20<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. cloudy and rain. about 10 oClock cleared off, but rained again before evening.

Saturday 21<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. Still continues raining but we Still kept at work finishing our huts to make ourselves comfortable &C.

Sunday 22<sup>nd</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. high wind all last night. the weather rainy warm & wet.

Monday 23<sup>rd</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. nothing extroordinary hapened more than common this day.

Tuesday 24<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. hard rain as usal. we finished covering our huts and made fires in them. Some of the men moved in them this evening.

Wednesday 25<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. rainy & wet. disagreeable weather. we all moved in to our new Fort, which our officers name Fort Clatsop<sup>1</sup> after the name of the Clatsop nation of Indians who live nearest to us. the party Saluted our officers by each man firing a gun at their quarters at day break this morning. they divided out the last of their tobacco among the men that used [it] and the rest they gave each a Silk hankerchief, as a Christmast gift, to keep us in remembrece of it as we have no ardent Spirits, but are all in good health which we esteem more than all the ardent Spirits in the world. we have nothing to eat but poore Elk meat and no Salt t<sup>o</sup> Season that with, but Still keep in good Spirits<sup>2</sup> as we expect this to be the last winter that we will have to pass in this way.

Thursday 26<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. we found that our huts Smoaked by the high winds and hard Storms. hard rain continues as usal.

Friday 27<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. we built backs and enside chimneys in our huts which made them much more comfortable than before. in the evening Several Savages came to the Fort. hard rain all day.

<sup>1</sup> The naming of the fort is noted by Gass only on Jan. 1, 1806. Neither of the captains records this detail at all.

<sup>2</sup> Gass writes in a strain of similar optimism. Captain Clark, on the contrary, manifests a less cheerful disposition. "we would have Spent this day," he writes, "the nativity of Christ in feasting, had we anything either to raise our Sperits or even gratify our appetities, our Diner consisted of pore Elk, so much Spoiled that we eate it thro' near necessity, Some Spoiled pounded fish and a few roots."

Saturday 28<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. the Savages Stayed at the fort all last night and informed us that a verry large fish was drove to Shore on the coast and that their women wer packing the oil and meat. our offi-Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and three men got ready to go with a canoe to See the whail as we expect it is, but the wind and Storm arose So high that they could not go five men Set out by land with kittles to go over to the Sea coast to form a Camp and make Some Salt. three men went across the River a hunting in the evening 2 hunters returned had kill<sup>d</sup> one Deer.

Sunday 29<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. a fair day. the men at the fort are employed gitting pickets &C. Several of the Chinock nation came to the fort with wapatoe roots and dry Sammon to trade we bought some from them. &C.

Monday 30<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. a fair morning and a little Sun shine which is verry uncommon at this place. we finished puting up our pickets and gates of the fort. about 2 oClock P. M. three hunters came to the fort had killed 4 Elk. Seven men Set out immediately and brought in the meat. a centinel placed in the fort to look out for the Savages for our Safety, &C.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday 31<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805. a cloudy morning Several more of the natives came to the fort with wapatoe roots we bought Several bags from them. we built a box for the centinel to Stand in out of the rain dug 2 Sinques [sinks] &C.

Wednesday 1<sup>st</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. The party Saluted our officers at day break this morning by firing at their quarters as a remembrance of the new year a pleasant morning. 2 men went out a hunting. Several of the natives visited us. they go bare leged all winter and bare footed Some kind of a little Robe over their Shoulders &C. the women have Short peticoats made of Some kind of grass Some of which are twisted like twine, and are nearly naked otherways the general part of them are verry poor and ask a large price for any thing they have to part with. in the evening the two hunters returned & had killed two large buck Elk.

Thursday 2<sup>nd</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. rained the greater part of last night and continues this morning 14 men went out and brought in

<sup>1</sup> Having completed the fort the captains issued this day a set of regulations for the guidance of the party, which, it must be remembered, constituted a detachment of the regular army living under military rule. The sight of the sentinel, constantly on duty, and the firm tone assumed toward the savages, many of whom had shown themselves "verry impertenant and disagreeable," produced an immediate improvement in their conduct.

the meat our officers issued an order for the regulation of the Garrison at this place, charging the party to treat the natives will & C.

Friday 3<sup>rd</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. hard Thunder hail and rain the greater part of last night one of the hunters caught a large otter. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass went over to the Salt Camps, about 10 oClock a number of the natives came to the fort. in the evening three of our hunters came to the Fort had killed nothing but one Deer one Swan and 4 ducks, also a raven which they eat on new years day to Satisfy their hunger.<sup>1</sup>

Saturday 4<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. small Showers of rain and hail as usual. the Clatsop Indians trade to us Some excelent Sweet roots. one of the party bought a dog also.<sup>2</sup>

Sunday 5<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. a wet rainy morning. in the afternoon one of the hunters returned to the Fort had killed nothing except one brant and 2 ducks Shortly after 2 men came from the Salt Camp with about 2 gallons of Salt. they had killed three Elk and one Deer. they informed us that the Savages brought loads of the whail that they had informed us of. our men bought som of the meat from them which was good.

Monday 6<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 12 men Set out with one large canoe and the Small one in order to go after Some of the whail on the coast.<sup>3</sup> about 9 oClock A. M. cleared off pleasant and warm.

Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. clear and pleasant. George Drewyer went out to his traps ab<sup>t</sup> 3 m<sup>ls</sup> and found in them one large beautiful black otter and a beaver. he brought the beaver in to Eat. cont<sup>n</sup> clear all day which is a very uncommon thing at this place.

Wednesday 8<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. a clear warm morning. two men went out from the fort a hunting.

<sup>1</sup> The hunters, Potts, Collins, and Reuben Fields, had been out since December 28.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis had now become "so perfectly reconciled to the dog that I think it an agreeable food and would prefer it vastly to lean Venison or Elk." Journal, January 3. Clark, on the contrary, had not yet become "reconsiled" to dog meat. Both captains observe, however, that the men were healthier, during the period when dog meat was the principal article of food, than at any other time since leaving the buffalo country.

<sup>3</sup> With the party went Sacajawea. This had been no part of Clark's plan, but she was importunate on the subject and he yielded to her entreaties. "she observed," writes Lewis, "that she had traveled a long way with us to see the great waters, and that now that monstrous fish was also to be seen, she thought

Thursday 9<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. rained the greater part of last night, but cleared off pleasant this morning, and continues warm.

Friday 10<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. a clear pleasant day about noon the 2 hunters returned had killed one Elk. towards evening 12 Savages came to the fort with wapatoes roots to trade. we bought some from them and 2 dogs, also. in the evening Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and the most of his party return<sup>d</sup> to the fort and informed us that they had been ab<sup>t</sup> 25 miles along the sea coast about a South course.<sup>1</sup> they passed over verry Steep high rough rocky mountains to git to the whail. the natives Shewed them the fraim of a verry [large] whail which had been some time dead it was 100.5 [105] feet in length, and proportined accordingly. they brought some of the jaw bones and some other black bones which are handsome. their was Several villages along the coast of different tribes which lived mostly on whail meat, and fish, Some Seals &C. they had a large quantity by them they Saw a great many bones of whails along the Shore. one night our men were Camped near a Small village on a Small River, one of our men Hugh M<sup>c</sup>neal went to the village by himself witho<sup>t</sup> any arms. an Indian which belonged to some other nation came to M<sup>c</sup>neal and took him out with a design to kill him for his blanket. Some of the other Indians who wished us well called across the creek to our men. Several went with arms to his assistance the indian hearing the alarm ran from him with his long knife without injury. this Creek was named by Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark M<sup>c</sup>neals folley<sup>2</sup> and the Mountain which they crossed made out in the ocean he called Cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks view.<sup>3</sup> they bought and brought in considerable of whail meat, and the oil Several of the men Stayed at the Salt Camps.

Saturday 11<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. our Small canoe got loose from the landing last night, & went away. Some time last night 7 men went with a canoe after the Elk meat several more went to look for the Small canoe. towards evening we returned with the meat &C.

it very hard she could not be permitted to see either (she had never yet been to the Ocean)."

<sup>1</sup> The party had traveled along the coast to a point in the vicinity of Nehalem Bay, in Tillamook County.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Nehalem River.

<sup>3</sup> Tillamook Head. It had been first seen by Clark from Cape Disappointment on Nov. 18, 1805, on his first excursion to the shore of the Pacific.

Sunday 12<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. a fair morning. 2 men went out a hunting. 3 men went again to look for the canoe but did not find it. Several men returned from the Salt Camp. towards evening the 2 hunters who went out this morning came in had killed 7 Elk within about 2 miles of the f<sup>t</sup>

Monday 13<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. rained hard all last night and continues this morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and all the party except the guard went after the Elk meat. Six men set jurking the meat to keep it from Spoiling.

Tuesday 14<sup>th</sup> the tide water took away one of our canoes but we Soon found it again.

Wednesday 15<sup>th</sup> rained hard the greater part of the day.

Thursday 16<sup>th</sup> the rain & storm [and] high winds continues as usual.

Friday 17<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. three men went out a hunting a number of the natives came to the fort. about noon one of the hunters came in with a Deer which he had killed.

Saturday 18<sup>th</sup> hard rain all last night, and continues as usual. 2 Indians came to the fort and Stayed a short time.

Sunday 19<sup>th</sup> 4 men went out a hunting. moderate showers of rain. the men in the fort are employed dressing Elk Skins for Mockasons, &C. Several of the natives visited us, and sold us several handsome Hats made of some kind of Splits curiously worked &C.<sup>1</sup>

Monday 20<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. rainy and wet. the Crows and ravens verry plenty about the fort.

Tuesday 21<sup>st</sup> Cloudy and rain in the afternoon 2 of our hunters Shannon & Labuche came to the fort had killed three Elk.

Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> I and 14 more of the party went with one canoe after the Elk meat. a hard Storm of rain and verry high wind. we had a disagreeable time of it. three of the hunters Stayed out to hunt.

Thursday 23<sup>rd</sup> a little Thunder and hail in the course of last night 2 men set out to go over to the Salt Camps after Some Salt. high wind &C.

Friday 24<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. a light Snow fell the later part of last night. Several Showers of rain and hail this day. in the

<sup>1</sup> "these hats are of their own manufactory and are composed of Cedar bark and bear grass interwoven with the fingers and ornamented with various colours and figures, they are nearly waterproof, light, and I am convinced are much more durable than either chip or straw." Lewis.

afternoon G. Drewyer & Battiest Lapage came to the fort. 3 Indians came with them in a canoe Drewyer had killed 4 Elk 2 of the other hunters killed 2 deer. they brought the meat in the indians canoe except what they gave them for packing & C.

Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. froze a little last night, and a little more Snow fell intermixet with hail. continues Squawly this morning. 2 men came from the Salt Camps. had been a hunting but killed nothing except the deer which was brought in yesterday.

Sunday 26<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806 considerable of Snow fell in the course of last night and continues this morning, and cold freezing weather the Snow is this evening about 5 Inches deep on a level.

Monday 27<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. froze hard last night a clear cold morning. one man set out to hunt for the Salt makers about noon George Shannon came to the Fort and informed us that he had killed five Elk and informed us that R. Feilds had killed three Elk and Labuche 2 Elk. but some of them too far to pack in.

Tuesday 28<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. a clear cold morning, and freezeing hard. 14 of the party set out eairly to go after the meat. the hunters could not find but 3 Elk in the thickets So we took them and return<sup>d</sup> to the fort. 2 men came from the Salt Camps had killed a large otter.

Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. froze hard last night a clear cold morning. we do nothing except git wood for our fires & C.

Thursday 30<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. Cloudy and cold. Some fine Snow fell this morning. the evening clear and cold.

Friday 31<sup>st</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1806. a clear cold freezeing morning. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass and Six men set out a hunting took a canoe found Ice in the River So that they turned back. in the evening one of the hunters returned from the Salt Camps he had killed two Elk which is the 1<sup>st</sup> that has been killed by the Salt makers a long time.

Saturday 1<sup>st</sup> February 1806. a clear cold morning. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass and five more of the party Set out a hunting, and 4 men set out with a hunter to help with the meat to the Salt works.

Sunday 2<sup>nd</sup> Feb. 1806. the weather moderate. in the afternoon cloudy & a little Snow, but not any worth mention<sup>g</sup>

Monday 3<sup>rd</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. a little frozen rain. about noon George Drewyer & Batteast [Lepage] came in from hunting had killed Seven Elk & caught one large beaver. Six men set

out with a canoe after the meat, but the wind So high that [it] obledged them to return five men came in from the Salt works with about 2 bushels of good Salt, and Some whail meat which the natives call Ecoley. we mix it with our poor Elk meat & find it eats verry well.

Tuesday 4<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. a clear pleasant morning. about noon the Six men Set out again with the canoe after the Elk meat tide high.

Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. a beautif<sup>l</sup> pleasant morning. about noon one of our hunters came in had killed Six Elk. a party who went across the river found our Sciff or small canoe which was drove up on a marsh up a creek & C.

Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. I went with nine more of the party after the Elk meat. we went out to the Elk and butchred them this evening, & packed Some together & Camped. found 2 of the Elk in good order.

Friday 7<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. we packed the meat to the River or marsh. I and one man went to the Fort with the canoe and some meat<sup>1</sup> hard rain. & C.

Saturday 8<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. rained verry hard all last night we went with a canoe over and got the men & meat. the party returned from down the River & went up this little River for meat. we had several showers of hail this evening.

Sunday 9<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. 2 men went out to hunt. Six men went at jurking the meat. Several Showers of hail in course of the day.

Monday 10<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. a fair morning. a little snow fell last night. in the afternoon two men came in from the Salt works and informed us that Gibson is verry sick at the Salt works and Bret<sup>n</sup> [Bratton] verry unwell. the 2 men who came had killed 5 Elk but got only a little of it at the salt works.

Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor and five men set out with a canoe to go round to the Salt works after the Sick men. 2 more men were to Stay in their places three men went out to hunt the after part of the day rainy.

Wednesday 12<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. continues raining. one of the Clatsop Indians came to the Fort and Stayed all night.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the evening, Lewis notes, they had an "excellent supper it consisted of a marrowbone apiece and a brisket of boiled Elk that had the appearance of a little fat on it. this for Fort Clatsop is living in high stile."

<sup>2</sup> His mission was to tender the white men three dogs in return for some elk, killed by Fields on February 5, which his people had stolen. However, "the dogs took the alarm and ran off."



Thursday 13<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. cloudy and rain. one of the men bought a sea otter skin from the Indian for a peace of Tobacco not the half of a carrit.

Friday 14<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. the morning warm and Showers of rain through the course of the day.

Saturday 15<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. a fair day. in the evening in the evening the party returned Bratton came by land sick they brought Gibson in a blank<sup>t</sup> up from the canoe. he is very Sick, and low.<sup>1</sup>

Sunday 16<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. hard rain in the course of last night three men went out to hunt.

Monday 17<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. a little snow fell this fournoon three hunters came in with the meat of an Elk which they took out of a creek where some of the hunters had killed [it] in the after part of the day Sg<sup>t</sup> Gass and 2 men returned to the Fort. they had killed Eight Elk, and jurked 2 of them. Some of the men killed a gray Eagle and a new kind of a Turkey buzzard one man came from the Salt works for help to move in the Salt & kittles Drewyer & Whitehouse came in had killed one Elk.

Tuesday 18<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. I and five more of the party Set out with a canoe for the Salt works. 10 more set out for the Elk meat. we found the wind so high at the bay that we had to return to the Fort. had Several Squawls of wind & rain.

Wednesday 19<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. a hard Storm of wind and rain. myself and Six more of the party Set out eairly to go by land to the Salt works to bring in the Salt & baggage we procee<sup>d</sup> on to the praries crossed the prarie where the land is in ridges like the waves the frozen rain beat in our faces verry hard. we got on the coast cross<sup>d</sup> a river where we waided to our middles and was glad to git in an old Indian house where we made a fire and Stayed all night. Sand flew & waves rol<sup>d</sup>

Thursday 20<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. the wind continued verry high from the S. W. we Set out eairly and procee<sup>d</sup> on along the coast faccing the wind the Sand cut our faces waided a creek rapid current about noon we arived to the Salt works and bought a

<sup>1</sup> He was so reduced that he was unable to stand, and was carried in a litter; on examining him, however, Lewis and Clark concluded he was in no danger. They supposed his illness to have originated in a violent cold contracted while hunting in the swamps and marshes. For it they gave him "broken dozes of diluted nitre and made him drink plentifully of sage tea, had his feet bathed in warm water and at 9 P. M. gave him 35 drops of laudanum."

little Ecoley [blubber] and oil & C from the natives. the waves roles verry high and white froth flying & C.

Friday 21<sup>st</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. we set out eairly with all the salt and baggage.<sup>1</sup> took an Indian canoe and crossed the River and travelled verry hard. when we got half way set in to Storming & rained verry hard & the wind blew so high that we could not cross the creek in a canoe and waided across and got to the Fort about half past 12 oClock. much fatigued and I am at this time verry Sick, and wet to my Skins waiding the Slashes and marshes. the day verry disagreeable and Stormey & C. the party who went after Elk meat brought it in on evening of 19<sup>th</sup> ins<sup>t</sup>

Saturday 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. a fair morning. George Gibson Some better. I am full of pains but not verry sick. the rest of the Sick are mending a little. Several of the natives came to the Fort with some of their Split a chip hats which are Engeaneously made Drewyer went to the village & C.

Sunday 23<sup>rd</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. a fair morning. Six of the party are now Sick I think that I and three others have the Enfluenzey.

Monday 24<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. Cloudy. in the afternoon George Drewyer retorned and a number of Indians with him they brought some hats and fresh fish. our officers bought a Sea otter Skin and Several hats for the party. the two hunters came to the Fort had killed only one Elk.

Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. a hard storm of wind and rain. I feel a little better. the Storm cont<sup>nd</sup> thro the course of the day.

Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. the morning fair 4 men went out a hunting and 3 went with a canoe to the Clatsop and cathlemaks village to purchase fresh fish and wapa-toes & C.

Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. a rainy wet morning. one man went out a hunting. in the afternoon one of our hunters returned had killed one Elk. willard verry sick the rest of us are some better.

Friday 28<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1806. rained very hard the greater part of last night. Seven men Set out eairly with a canoe after the Elk meat, and brought it to the Fort. two men Stayed out to hunt. in the evening the other three hunters returned had killed five Elk near a small River 7 or 8 miles from this place.

Saturday the 1<sup>st</sup> March 1806. a fair morning. twelve men set out after the Elk meat. the day Showery and wet. in the

<sup>1</sup> The salt works were now abandoned, since the captains considered the quantity of salt on hand sufficient to last until the party should reach the supply that had been cached on the upper Missouri the year before.

evening the party returned except four who Stayed out to hunt & brought in the meat. the Indian Name of the River they went up is Kil how-a-nak-kle and this River which we are on Ne-lut.<sup>1</sup>

Sunday 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1806. a rainy morning. in the evening the three men returned from the village with a considerable quantity of the little fish<sup>2</sup> resembling herren only a size smaller, and some Sturgeon and a few wapatoes, which they purchased from them. the natives catch a vast quantity of fish &C.

Monday 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1806. hard rain all last night. a rainy wet day. the most of the men are dressing Skins &C.

Tuesday 4<sup>th</sup> March 1806. rained hard all last night and continues all this day.

Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup> March 1806. a fair morning a number of the natives came to the fort and brought us some little fish and Sturgeon &C.

Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> March 1806. a fair morning Six men set out a hunting in different directions. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor and 2 more men set out with the Small canoe to go up up the Columbia River to the Cathlemaks village after fish and wa-pa-toes, our old Clatsop Chief visited us. we halled out our canoes to repair them &C.

Friday 7<sup>th</sup> March 1806. a little hail last night and Showers of hail and rain this morning. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass and one man went at repairing the canoes. towards evening 2 hunters returned had killed one Elk and Seen a number more.

Saturday 8<sup>th</sup> March 1806. we had Showers of hail and rain last night and continues this morning four others of the hunters came in. one of them had killed 2 Elk the others killed nothing but 1 deer and had lost the canoe which they took with them. Six men set out by water after the meat of one Elk. Drewyer & J<sup>o</sup> Fields went out a hunting. the day cold and Showery. in the evening the men returned to the fort with the meat of the Elk.

Sunday 9<sup>th</sup> March 1806. a little [snow] & hail this morning and cold. I and 10 more of the party went and brought in the meat of the 2 Elk. Shortly after we return<sup>d</sup> Several of the Clatsop Indians came to the Fort with some small fish and a little bears wax to trade to us. we bought a few &C.

<sup>1</sup> These rivers are now called, respectively, Lewis and Clark, and Young's or Klaskanine.

<sup>2</sup> The eulachon. Clark thought it the most delicious fish he had ever eaten, and David Starr Jordan concurs in his high estimate of its flavor.

Monday 10<sup>th</sup> March 1806. Showers of hail and a little snow intermixed. Several men went out a hunting. high winds &C.

Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> March 1806. a little Snow fell last night. the morning. three hunters went out a hunting. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor returned with a considerable quantity of small fish and Sturgeon and a few wa-pa-toes &C. 4 men went to look for the lost canoe but could not find it.

Wednesday 12<sup>th</sup> March 1806. a white frost. clear and cold. one man went out a hunting. I went and made Search for the lost canoe but could not find it. the other canoes corked & pitched.

Thursday 13<sup>th</sup> March 1806. a fair cold morning. high winds. our three hunters returned to the fort. had killed two Elk and two deer. Drewyer sent to the Clatsop village in order to purchase a canoe. I went with Six more of the party after the meat of an Elk. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor and 2 men went to look again for the lost canoe. in the evening all returned to the fort. Collins who went with Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor had killed two doe Elk and wounded 1 or 2 more.

Friday 14<sup>th</sup> March 1806. Cloudy. four men went out a hunting and 7 of the party went for the Elkmeat. they soon returned with the meat of 2 doe Elk. in the afternoon Drewyer return<sup>d</sup> and a number of the Clatsop Indians came with him brought a canoe to trade to us, & some Hats &C.

Saturday 15<sup>th</sup> March 1806. a fair morning. the Savages Stayed in the fort last night, but do not incline to sell us their canoe. Drewyer and five men Sent up to the Cathlemaks village to purchase a canoe if possable our hunters returned had kill<sup>d</sup> four Elk. all hands turned out and brought in the meat. a number of the Chinnoek nation of Savages came to the fort.<sup>1</sup> Some of the Clatsops also

Sunday 16<sup>th</sup> March 1806. a rainy wet morning. the Savages Stayed in the fort. rained the greater part of the day. nothing else extraordinary. our officers Sealed up some papers and letters for M<sup>r</sup> Haily and gave them to the savages.

Monday 17<sup>th</sup> March 1806. Showers of rain intermixed with Snow. we fixed our canoes and got in readiness for a Start expect-

<sup>1</sup> "we were visited this afternoon by Delashshelwit a Chinnoek Chief his wife and six women of his nation which the old baud his wife had brought for market. this was the same party that had communicated the veneral to so many of our party in November last, and of which they have finally recovered. I therefore gave the men a particular charge with respect to them which they promised me to observe." Lewis.

ing G. Drewyer to return from the Cathlemaks. Showery all day. in the evening Drewyer return<sup>d</sup> with a canoe which he had bought for Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewises Uniform coat and a small peace of tobacco.<sup>1</sup> we should have started this day had we been ready. &C.

Tuesday 18<sup>th</sup> March 1806. a Showery morning of rain and hail. Some Thunder. we repair the Small canoes. 4 men went over to the prarie near the coast to take a canoe which belonged to the Clatsop Indians, as we are in want of it. in the evening they returned 2 of them by land and kill<sup>d</sup> an Elk. the others took the canoe near the fort and concealed it, as the chief of the Clatsops is now here.<sup>2</sup>

Wednesday 19<sup>th</sup> March 1806. we went out and packed in the Elk meat. hard Showers of rain intermixed with Snow and hail.

Thursday 20<sup>th</sup> March 1806. rained hard the greater part of last night and continues this morning. So we are only waiting for good weather to start, there has been 150 odd Elk killed by this party in the course of the last winter, and 20 deer. the party has now got in all 338 pair of good Mockasons the most of them good Elk Skins Mockasons.

Friday 21<sup>st</sup> March 1806. rained hard all last night, and continues this morning. a number of natives visited us with Some dried small fish to trade which they call in their language Oll-can.<sup>3</sup> we bought a few from them.

Saturday 22<sup>nd</sup> 1806. continues rainy. three hunters Set out with a Small canoe to go on a head to hunt untill we come up. carried their baggage with them. 6 men Sent out a hunting. a

<sup>1</sup> Lewis says that these savages esteem a canoe of equal value, for trading purposes, with their wives, and that one is generally given to the father in exchange for his daughter. "I think the U. States," he adds, "are indebted to me another Uniform for that of which I have disposed on this occasion was but little worn."

<sup>2</sup> The best excuse for this course of action was the urgent necessity of the explorers. Unfortunately, as the present editor views the case, it occurred to one of the interpreters to propose that a canoe be taken from the Clatsops "in lieu of 6 Elk which they stole from us this winter," and the captains adopted the suggestion. Yet the savages in taking the elk had acted no differently than the white men themselves on several occasions, in appropriating the property of the Indians; and the former had sought to make payment for the elk by sending an agent to the fort with some dogs for the explorers. Had the latter based their purloining of the canoe on the ground of overpowering necessity their action would have been more defensible.

<sup>3</sup> Gass reports the name as "ulken," while Lewis refers to them as anchovies. The fish was the eulachon, for which see *ante*, 327, note 2.

number of the Clatsop Indians visited us    Sold us a dog<sup>1</sup> & Some  
Small dry fish and Some fancy Hats &C.    in the evening the hunters  
returned except one.    had killed nothing.

<sup>1</sup> Which "we purchased for our sick men."    Clark.

## CHAPTER XIII

### FROM FORT CLATSOP TO WALLA WALLA RIVER, MARCH 23—MAY 1, 1806

Sunday 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1806. the one hunter stayed out last night rained hard the greater part of last night. this morning proved so rainy and uncertain that our officers were undetermined for some time whether they had best Set out & risque the [wind] which appeared to be riseing or not. John Colter returned having killed an Elk about 3 miles towards point adams.<sup>1</sup> the rain Seased and it became fair. about meridian at which time we loaded our canoes & at 1 P.M. left Fort Clatsop on our homeward bound journey. at this place we had wintered and remained from the 7<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> 1805 to this day, and have lived as well as we had any right to expect, and we can say that we were never one day without 3 meals of Some kind a day, either poor Elk meat or roots, notwithstanding the reputed fall of rain which has fallen almost continually since we passed the long narrows on the [blank in Ms.] of Nov<sup>r</sup> last, indeed we have had only [blank in Ms.] days fair weather Since that time. Soon after we had set out from fort Clatsop we were met by a party of the chinooks, the old baud and hir Six Girls,<sup>2</sup> they had a canoe, a Sea otter Skin dried fish & hats for Sale. we purchased a Sea otter and proceeded on thro Meriwethers Bay. their was a stiff breeze from the S.W. which raised considerable swells around Merewethers Point, which was as much as our canoes could ride above point william we came too at the Camp of G. Drewyer & the 2 Fields they had killed 2 Elk which was about 1½ mile distant. here we Encamped<sup>3</sup> for the night, having made 16 miles.

Monday 24<sup>th</sup> of March 1806. I and 14 men went out eairly this morning and brought in the flesh of the 2 Elk killed by the hunters yesterday. at half past 9 we set out and proceed<sup>d</sup> on to

<sup>1</sup> Point Adams is the headland on the south side of the Columbia at the junction of the river with the ocean.

<sup>2</sup> For whom see *ante*, 328, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> In the mouth of John Day Creek, on the starboard side.

the Cathlah-mah village<sup>1</sup> at 12 m. and remained till  $\frac{1}{4}$  after 3 p. m. at this village, this is the dirtiest & Stinkenest place I ever Saw.<sup>2</sup> we proceeded on thro Some narrow channels between the Seal Islands and the South Shore to an old village on South Side opposite to the lower warkiacome village and Encamped to [at] the old village<sup>3</sup> a verry considerable deposit of the dead at a Short distance below, in the usual customary way of the natives of this coast in canoes raised from the Ground. Soon after we landed and made fires 2 Indians came from the opposite Side which could Speak some words of English and repeated the names of the tradors and a number of the Sailors, &C.

Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> of March 1806. we met a canoe of the Clatsops going down with their canoe loaded with fish and wapatoes. the winds hard a head and tide against us So we delay<sup>d</sup> untill 1 oClock P. M. at which time we set out met 2 canoes of the Clatsops loaded with dried fish and wapatoes &C. & Sturgeon which they had purchased above. we crossed over to an Island<sup>4</sup> on which was a fishing Camp of the Cath le mahs. they had a vast Site of Sturgeon one of the men purchased a Sea otter Skin, the price of which was a dressed Elk Skin and a silk hankerchief. we proceeded on from thence the after part of the day the wind rose high after dark we arived at another fishing Camp of the Cathlemahs where we Camped for the night.<sup>5</sup>

Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> March 1806. the wind ran high last night and the tide rose higher than common and came in under my blankets before I awoke and obledged me to move twice Several more of the party camps were routed also. our officers gave one of the Cathlih mahs a meddel. he gave them in return a large Sturgeon. we proceeded on our way and halted on fanneys Island<sup>6</sup> to dine

<sup>1</sup> The party is ascending the river along the left, or Oregon side. Thwaites (III, 252) locates this village "near the present town of Knappa, on the Columbia River Railway." Here the explorers had stopped on Nov. 26, 1805, the day they crossed to the south side of the Columbia in search of a suitable site for winter quarters.

<sup>2</sup> "and the inhabitants," adds Clark, "partake of the Carrestick [characteristic] of the village."

<sup>3</sup> "In Clatsop County, Ore., near the lower end of Tenasillihee Island." Coues.

<sup>4</sup> Puget Island.

<sup>5</sup> The day's camp was on the opposite side of the river from that of Nov. 6, 1805. It was in Columbia County, Ore., across the river from Cape Horn.

<sup>6</sup> Named for Clark's younger sister, Frances; it is modern Grim's Island, located a little below Green Point, Ore. Coues.



then proce<sup>d</sup> on as usual Camped on an Island<sup>1</sup> in thick brush & C.

Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> March 1806. rain commenced this morning and continued thro the day. we halted at a village<sup>2</sup> of the Chilutes nation they treated us in a friendly manner. Gave us Some wapatoes & anchoves to eat. Several Indians followed after us with Small canoes. our officers purchased a large Sturgeon from them we proce<sup>d</sup> on to the m<sup>o</sup> of a River named Calams River and Camped on the South Side little above Said River.<sup>3</sup> Six of our hunters Sent on this afternoon to deer Island with the Small canoes in order to hunt.

Friday 28<sup>th</sup> March 1806. rained the greater part of last night. we Set out earlly and proceeded on to deer Island<sup>4</sup> at the Camp of our hunters. about 11 oClock the hunters joined us had killed 7 deer. we drew out the Small canoes and repaired them. the day proved Squawley high winds & C. packed in the venison. the Snakes are as thick as the Spears of Grass on this Island of different kinds & C. Several of the hunters being out our officers concluded to Stay and we Camped for the night one of the hunters killed a Small wild cat. the grey Eagles are plenty on this Island they eat up three deer in a short time<sup>5</sup> which our hunters had killed some of the hunters killed Several of them. the game is plenty about this place & the Soil rich. & C.

Saturday 29<sup>th</sup> March 1806. we Set out early and proce<sup>d</sup> on. Saw blossom and wild onions along the South Side in the afternoon we pass<sup>d</sup> the m<sup>o</sup> of [blank in Ms.] River<sup>6</sup> which came in on N. Side which is high and puts in with a Swift current. little above we arived at the village of the [blank in Ms.] nation<sup>7</sup> which is a large village and the most of their huts join. this village is more decent than any I have Seen below. we delayed

<sup>1</sup> Fisher's Island. Coues.

<sup>2</sup> Two miles below the mouth of Cowlitz River.

<sup>3</sup> The Kalama River, Cowlitz County, Wash. The camp was on the Oregon side, several miles above the mouth of Kalama River.

<sup>4</sup> The name Deer Island, the English equivalent of the name bestowed on the place by the Indians, still persists.

<sup>5</sup> J. Fields even reported to Lewis "that the Vultures had draged a large buck which he had killed about 30 yards, had skined it and broken the back bone."

<sup>6</sup> Lewis River, in its lower course the boundary between Cowlitz and Clarke counties, Wash.

<sup>7</sup> "The Cathlahpohle nation." Lewis. Lewis River was formerly named for the tribe, and on some maps the name still persists.

at this village about 3 hours. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark bought a Robe which was made of 2 Sea otter Skins from the principal man who he made a chief. Gave him a meddle. he put it on his wife. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Gave the chief a blue blanket edged with red & Small also an old flag, which he was Satisfied with. we bought Several fat dogs and Some wapatoes from the natives. towards evening we procee<sup>d</sup> on a Short distance further and Camped on a handsom Green where had once been a village.<sup>1</sup> Some of the natives visited us. thier women instead of wearing the Straw & bark Short petticoats wear a Soft leather breach cloth all above this Side of the Mountains are dressed in this way & nothing more to cover the most part of them, but those below on the coast wear the Short pticoats. Some among them all have a kind of a fur garment beaver &C. dressed and cut in narrow stripes & Sewed together &C.

Sunday 30<sup>th</sup> March 1806. we set out cairly and procee<sup>d</sup> on the River Still rising & is now so high that the tide has no effect to be perceived at this time considerable of drift wood floating down the River. Saw 2 large villages on a large long Island which is named wapatoe Isl<sup>d</sup> & is about 25 miles long, partly timbered & partly prairie & soil rich. a number of the Savages followed us some distance with their canoes I must give these Savages as well as those on the coast the praise of makeing the neatest and handsomest lightest best formed canoes I ever Saw & are the best hands to work them. Saw mount rainey and Mount Hood which is verry white with Snow. &C about Sunset we Camped<sup>3</sup> at a handsom prairie & Groves of oak timber &C. the country is lower & more Smooth than below.

Monday 31<sup>st</sup> March 1806. a clear pleasant morning. we Set out cairly and procee<sup>d</sup> on pass<sup>d</sup> a village which was a large one when we went down last fall but the Savages are more Scattered along the River in fishing parties &C. only 2 cabbins left at this village on the South Shore in a large bottom. the wind rose from the Southward. a number of the savages followed us with their canoes. one of our hunters killed a deer & Saw a

<sup>1</sup> The camp was seven miles, according to Lewis, below that of November 4; it was also two miles below the head of Bachelor's Island.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Sauvie Island.

<sup>3</sup> At or near the site of old Fort Vancouver, and the modern city of Vancouver, Wash. Fort Vancouver was long an important fur-trading station; this was succeeded by a military establishment of the regular army. General Grant was stationed here in 1852-53, and General Sheridan a few years later.

great number more Deer & Elk in these bottoms & C. this morning. in the evening we passed the m<sup>o</sup> of Seal River<sup>1</sup> on N. Side the waves high. we Encamped a Short distance above s<sup>d</sup> River on a handsome high plain of rich land & timber near this is opposite the mouth of Quick Sand River which puts in on south side & is high at this time.

Tuesday 1<sup>st</sup> of April 1806. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor & three men was sent 5 or 6 miles up Quick Sand River to make discoveries & Several hunters went up the Seal River a hunting & others went out in different directions a hunting. a number of the natives visited us as they were passing down the River late in the afternoon Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor returned had been about 4 miles up quick sand River found the current rapid & only about 4 feet deep, he killed one deer. the other hunter returned had killed 4 Elk and 2 deer and an otter the hunters tells us that the country back from the River is rich land Some praries and rich plains & C. a number of Savages passing down the River in their canoes. we discovred yesterday the top of a high white Mountain some distance to the Southward our officers name it Mount Jefferson. 2 canoe loads of Savages Camped near us.

Wednesday 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 1806. 9 of our men who went out last evening for the meat of the 4 Elk Stayed out all night our officers determind to delay at this place untill the hunters kill 9 or 10 Elk and jurk the meat to take along with us.<sup>2</sup> So all the best of our hunters turned out the most of them went over to the South Shore & in different directions a hunting. the natives informed our officers that their is a large River comes in on the South Side Some distance below quick sand River which we had not Seen So Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & 6 men Set out with a canoe to go and examine the s<sup>d</sup> River. took an Indian along for a guide. the after part of the [day] clear & pleasant in the evening 3 of the hunters came in had killed two Deer. 30 odd Savages Camped with us, men women & children.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Washougal River, which joins the Columbia in Clarke County. Wash. The camp was just above its mouth.

<sup>2</sup> From numerous parties of Indians coming down the river it was learned that game was exceedingly scarce above, and that the salmon would not arrive until about the first of May. Not daring to wait this long, the decision was reached to lie by at the present camp until a large enough store of meat had been accumulated to subsist the party until it should arrive among the Chopunnish, where the horses had been left the previous autumn.

Thursday 3<sup>rd</sup> of April 1806. a foggy morning. one hunter came across the River & informed us that the hunters had killed 4 Elk 2 of which is about 3 miles from the River so Serg<sup>t</sup> pryor and 3 more men were Sent over to help jourk the meat Slight Showers of rain in the course of the day. the Savages who Stayed with us last night were of five different nations and had Several prisoners among them these Savages tells us that they are going down the River after wapatoes & C. & C. in the evening Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & party return<sup>d</sup> to Camp and informed us that they had been and took a view of the River which the Indians informed us of, and that it is a verry large River & is 500 y<sup>d</sup> wide and is Supposed to head with the waters of the California. they went 7 miles up s<sup>d</sup> River.<sup>1</sup> their guide informed them that a large nation lived up the fork of this River by the name of Clackamus Nation of 30 Towns, and that another Nation lives along distance up this River where it gits small by the name of Callapno-wah Nation who are verry numerous. on their return they halted at a new discovred village behind Swan Island where they bought 5 dogs a fiew Commass roots and some wapatoes & C.

Friday 4<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. I and 2 men went over the River to see what success the hunters had met the hunters returned with 5 of them they had kill<sup>d</sup> one Elk Six Deer and a handsome black bear & 2 Geese the hunters soon went out again 4 was Sent on

<sup>1</sup> "Said river" was the Willamette, which the explorers had passed unnoticed both when descending the Columbia the previous autumn and more recently when ascending it. Their knowledge of the general topography of the region induced the belief that there must be a considerable river draining the country south of the Columbia between the Cascade Mountains and the Coast Range, and at first they supposed Sandy River to be this stream. They were disabused of this idea, however, by various parties of Indians who agreed in reporting that Sandy River originated on the western slope of Mount Hood. This information convinced them that there must be another considerable southern tributary of the Columbia in the vicinity which they had failed to see, but their inquiries of the natives concerning such a river at first proved fruitless. At length a party arrived which included two young men who, the explorers were told, lived on such a river as they were seeking. With a coal one of the two natives drew on a mat a sketch of the river. Clark at once determined to set out to visit it, and engaged to pay his informant a burning glass for his services as guide. He ascended the Willamette to a point in the vicinity of Portland, when, being "perfectly satisfyed" of its magnitude, and that it must drain the region between the Cascades and the Coast Range, as far south as the "Waters of California about Lat<sup>d</sup> 37° North," he returned. Below Portland the Willamette is a noble river, navigable for ocean vessels, but it falls far short of extending to the "Waters of Callifornia."

with a small Canoe a head 5 or 6 miles to a bottom on S. Side to hunt untill we come up. the after part of the day pleasant. one of the men kill<sup>d</sup> 2 deer. in the evening 2 of our hunters came in had kill<sup>d</sup> 2 deer and caught a beaver.

Saturday 5<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass & 2 other of the hunters return<sup>d</sup> with 3 Small black cubs which was sold to the Savages I and 5 more men went over to the S. Side and climbed a high River hill on which is excelent rich land. went to the Camp of our hunters and brought in the jurked meat. three more hunters sent on a head with their Small canoe a hunting great numbers of Savages visited the Camp continually Since we have lay at this Camp, who were passing down with their famillys from the country above into the vally of Columbia in Search of food. they inform us that the natives above the great falls have no provisions and many are dieing with hunger. this information has been so repeatedly given by different parties of Indians that it does not admit of any doubt and is the cause of our delay in this neighbourhood for the purpose of procureing as much dried Elk meat as will last us through the Columbia plains in which we do not expect to find any thing to kill & C. the River hills are high above Quick Sand River Some of the clifts is 200 feet high. on the tops of those hills the land is excessively rich and thickly timbred with different Species of Fir intermixed with white cedder. I Saw one of the Fir trees which is 100 and 4 feet in length. Some dog wood and small shrubs, in the River bottoms of the fertile valley of Columbia which we are now leaveing, and which extends for about 70 miles on the River below, the growth is ash cottonwood, large leaffed ash & Sweet willow principally with sundry other Shrubs and bushes many of which bear a fruit which the natives make use of for food. those bottoms also produce various Species of plants. the roots of many of which the natives make use of prepared in different ways for food. Such as the root of the anual rush pasnaque wapatoe which is the common arrow head & a Species of Fern the wapatoes they geather in the ponds but all other grow Spontaineously in every part of the Columbian valley.

Sunday 6<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a clear pleasant morning. we loaded up and Set out proceeded on verry well about 8 miles and halted at the Camp of our hunters they having killed 3 Elk in a bottom S. Side 8 men went out for the meat Ruben Fields killed a curious handsom bird which made a curious noises it had blue feathers on its breast and under its throat and 2 long feathers on

the top of its head the longest 3 Inches long & a handsome Small bird. he Skined it and it is taken care of to carry home with us. in the evening the men returned with the meat of 5 Elk having found 2 more than they expected which the hunters had killed. So we Camped here for the night in a Small willow bottom near high river hills on South Side<sup>1</sup> eat & fleased the greater part of of the Elk meat to dry &C.

Monday 7<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a fair morning. Drewyer & the 2 Fields were sent on a head to ascend the River & hunt untill our arival all hands set at jurking & drying the Elk meat. a number of Savages came down the River in their canoes brought a fiew dogs a little chapellel & roots for trade, but asked a large price for them so we purchased only one dog. we got the meat all dry towards evening and packed it up &C. the Musquetoos trouble us a little &C. Drewyer returned with the Savages and killed 2 ducks this evening &C.

Tuesday 8<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a fair morning. the wind raised so high a head that in Stead of our Setting out as we intended [we] had to unload our canoes. the waves ran high and filled them with water &C. Several men sent out a hunting put our dry meat on a scaffel & dry it a little more &C. the wind still raise-ing. the River rises a little the wind continued high all day &C.

Wednesday 9<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a fair morning, and calm we bailed our canoes found Some of them to leak loaded up & about 9 oClock we departed and procee<sup>d</sup> on along the South Shore overtook the 2 Fields who had killed nothing about noon Some of the men killed an eagle. we crossed over to the North Side & halted at a village<sup>2</sup> of the wa-cla-lah nation where we bought 5 or 6 fat dogs. found Cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks pipe tommahawk which was stole from him last fall, below Quick Sand River. we took it from them. they sign<sup>d</sup> that they bought it below and appeared to be highly afronted at our taking it but were afraid to Show it. a number of these natives are moving up to the big Shoote to fish &C. a number of an other nation overtook us who belong up near the big falls &C. a large creek puts in close above the

<sup>1</sup> In Multnomah County, Ore., nine miles, according to the explorers' reckoning, above the mouth of Washougal River.

<sup>2</sup> "about a mile above the beacon rock." Lewis. This, now known as Castle Rock, is one of the best-known landmarks on the Columbia. It stands in a meadow, separated from the adjoining hills, and rises steeply to a height of several hundred feet. It is visible from below for a distance of some twenty miles.

village which we did not discover last fall. when we pass<sup>d</sup> down we dined and proce<sup>d</sup> on pass<sup>d</sup> Strabury Island where the Swift water begins. we halted at a village at the foot of the 1<sup>st</sup> rapid, on N. Side which was lately erected. we purchased 2 fat dogs and crossed over to the South Shore and Camped behind [blank in Ms.] Island<sup>1</sup> commenced raining hard & high winds from N. W. the River much higher at this time than it was last fall when we pass<sup>d</sup> down. Some Spots of Snow is now on the tops of these Mountains Near the River.

Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. rained hard the greater part of last night. a cloudy & Showery morning. 2 men sent out to hunt pitch who belonged to a Small canoe. we took up the large canoes one at a time up the rapids with the towing line. the Small one also who was left to help up with the other small one. we then crossed over the River to the N. Side and halted at a village where we took breakfast. the men who were hunting pitch came up with their canoe one of them by the name of Collins had killed three Deer and brought them to us. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis purchased a white mountain Sheep Skin for which he gave 2 Elk hides. we bought a few Salmon trout then we proce<sup>d</sup> on soon came to bad rapids where we had to tow one canoe up at a time. Drewyer & the 2 Fields went on a head with their Smal canoe. their chord broke & their canoe went back down the rapids and [was] taken up by the Indians below, who return<sup>d</sup> it to us. our officers gave them two knives for the kindness. one of the men lamed one of his feet towing over the Stons with Some fatigue we got all the canoes to the lower end of the portage of the big Shoote<sup>2</sup> and unloaded in the large eddy below on N. Side and carried all the baggage on the top of the hill, and Camped a number of the natives visited us Some distance below this place I Saw a large grave yard [a] little below an ancient village this is a different manner from any I have Seen of burrying the dead in tombs about 8 feet Square made of wood plank and tite flowers [floors] made of plank layn in them and the corps are layn out on the flower Roped up in Some kind of a Robe, and all thier property is deposited with them Such as copper tea kittles baskets cockle Shells canoes are layn by the Side of s<sup>d</sup> tombs also. Several Images cut in wood one put up at

<sup>1</sup> Brant Island, just below the Lower Cascades. The camp was on the Oregon mainland.

<sup>2</sup> The Upper Cascades.

the ends of said tombs &C one of the Indians Stole an exe<sup>1</sup> from us another told one of our men and he followed him and took it from him and told him that he was bad and he replied that he was &C.

Friday 11<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. rained the greater part of last night and continues this morning. all the party except a few to guard the baggage turned out with Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark to takeing up our canoes with the tow Rope up the big Shoote took one large one and one small one at once the large one filled at the highest pitch where it is allmost perpinticular but with some difficulty we got the 2 to the head of the portage about noon. then went back took dinner and took another large canoe and a small one the other smallest one was taken & carried by land. this large canoe filled twice with water at the worst pitch but with some difficulty & hard fatigue got them Safe up towards evening by the assistance of a number of Indians at the worst pitch &C. and halled the large canoe up by force allthough she was full of water. the most of the mens feet sore towing over the sharp rocks. our officers made a chief of the [blank in Ms.] nation gave meddle &C. Drewyer and the 2 Fields Sent on a head with their little canoe to a creek on the N. Side to hunt untill our arival.

Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a rainy wet morning. all the party except a guard went with Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis to take up the other large canoe. we got it under way verry well but She took a Swing on us and broke away and rid the high waves down the rapids. then all hands went at packing the baggage past the portage which is 1½ miles. carried it all up at 4 loads a peace towards evening got every thing to the head of the portage and Camp<sup>d</sup> for the night.<sup>2</sup> our officers finding that the natives do not incline to sell their canoes so they divided the baggage & men among the 4 canoes a number of the natives visited us. one of the Squaws told us in the Clatsop tongue that She had Slept with the white tradors &C.

<sup>1</sup> They also stole Lewis' dog (which was recovered), and in general conducted themselves in such insolent fashion that there was imminent danger of a combat between them and the white men. Lewis adopted a policy of vigilant firmness toward them, while at the same time he sought to avoid bloodshed. "our men seem well disposed to kill a few of them," he writes, "we keep ourselves perfectly on our guard."

<sup>2</sup> On the Washington shore, opposite the camp of Oct. 30, 1805.



Sunday 13<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. we loaded up our canoes took a light breakfast of a little dog meat and departed Soon passed the village only one house remaining covered in it which lives a number of the natives. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and the Small canoes crossed over to the South Side to 2 villages [a] little above the Shoote, in order to purchase a canoe from the natives if possible. the current Swift. we proceeded on little above cruzattes River the wind rose So high that [it] obliged us to halt at this bottom where we expected to find our Hunters<sup>1</sup> 2 men went out a hunting the day proved fair the wind cold and Snow laying low on the Mountains near the River. the hunters soon came in had kill<sup>d</sup> nothing but a bald Eagle we then proceed<sup>d</sup> on about 5 miles and halted again at a bottom on the N. Side<sup>2</sup> 3 men went out a hunting. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor & 2 men sent back to cruzattes River to look again for the hunters one of the hunters killed two Deer. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & party overtook us had purchased two small canoes the price of which was 2 Small peaces of blue cloath and two Elk hides, & bought three dogs also. we dried the 2 Small canoes by [the] fire and pitched them &C

Monday 14<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor & men returned with Drewyer & the two Fields they had killed 4 deer. we then departed and proceed<sup>d</sup> on very well passed Labuche River<sup>3</sup> on N. Side about noon the wind rose so high from the N. W. that we came too at a village on the N. Side where we Saw 25 or 30 horses which are in tollarable good order. we bought a number of dogs from the natives. they gave us such as they had to eat which was pounded Salmon thistle roots & wild onions & other kinds of roots all of which they had Sweeted & are Sweet. they are makeing Shappalell &C but they had but little to eat at this time but are Scattered along the River expecting the Salmon Soon &C. Mount Hood appears near the River on the South Side which is cov<sup>d</sup> thick with Snow & very white the wind high we delayed about 2 hours and proceed<sup>d</sup> on passed several small villages on the N. Side Scatered along the narrow bottoms

<sup>1</sup> Drewyer and Reuben and Joseph Fields, who had been sent in advance to Cruzatte's River, April 11, with instructions to hunt until the main party should come up. Cruzatte's River of the explorers is modern Wind River, Skamania County, Wash.

<sup>2</sup> The camp was in Skamania County, Wash., about six miles above the mouth of Wind River.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Hood River, in Hood River County, Ore. It had been passed on the outward journey, and named in honor of Labiche, Oct. 29, 1805.

near the River. Saw a number of horses at each village the wind continued aft and high so we run fast. Camped at dark at a village on the N. S.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a clear pleasant morning. we delayed untill after breakfast for to See if the natives would sell us any horses but they did not incline to Sell any without beeds which we have not got So we departed. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & Clark went on a small high Island<sup>2</sup> to see a large burying ground they saw seven large sepulchers made of wood in a square form and by appearence is nearly a hundred persons piled in one on another with their robes Sowed round them, and all their heads down the River. we procee<sup>d</sup> from thence to a village at the mouth of the [blank in Ms.] River<sup>3</sup> on the N. Side where we halted expecting to purchase Some horses as the natives have a number at this place, but they wanted beeds also and Sign to us that they hunt and go to wa[r] with their horses &C. we purchased only one dog, and procee<sup>d</sup> on passed several more small villages along the North Side. about 3 P. M. we crossed over to the south side and arived at rock Camp where we Camped on the 25<sup>th</sup> & 26<sup>th</sup> of Oc<sup>r</sup> last. we went up the creek [a] little above and Camped<sup>t</sup> under high clift of rocks in order to lay here tomorrow & see if any horses can be purchased about the narrows or falls the plains are green & pleasant Saw a number of horses feeding in it which are in good order as they have been wintered below in the narrow bottoms where the rushes abound &C. we are Camped where has been an ancient large village only the cellers now to be Seen. George Drewyer killed a deer this evening. a number of the natives visited us &C.

Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a clear pleasant morning. Several Indians stayed at our Camp last night. 6 of the party went out eairly a hunting. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 8 more of the party went across the River and took Some marchandize & other articles in

<sup>1</sup> "at the entrance of a small run." Lewis. The run was something over six miles above White Salmon River; apparently it was modern Major Creek, in Klickitat County, Wash.

<sup>2</sup> Sepulchre Island, one of a group known as the Memaloose Islands, from a Klickitat name signifying "the dead."

<sup>3</sup> Klickitat River, Wash., in the county of the same name. The town of Lyle is on or near the site of the Indian village at which Lewis and Clark stopped.

<sup>4</sup> Mill Creek, in Wasco County, Ore. For the camp of Oct. 25, 26, and 27, 1805 see *ante*, 301, note 1.

order to purchase horses &C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark intends going up to the falls & See if any is to be had their. a number of Indians Came to our Camp Some of them on horse back. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass and 2 men Set at making pack Saddles. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Sent back a part of the articles as the Indians asked more for their horses than our goods would admit of, but he was going up to the falls in hopes to git Some their by giving a little more than has been offered as yet. our hunters killed this day only two Deer [and] 2 Squerrells of a new kind of any we ever Saw before. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis had the Skins Stuffed & taken care of. one large new kind of a grey Squerrell also. 1 or 2 ducks the game is verry scarce about this place.

Thursday 17<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a beautiful warm morning. Several of our hunters went out a hunting. the Small birds of different kinds are Singing around us. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark not returned but wrote a line to Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis that he had not purchased any horses yet but was going up to another village above the falls where he expected to purchase Some this day. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis wrote back that we Should move tomorrow up to the bason as far as we can go with the canoes. our hunters killed only one Deer this day. towards evening a number of Indians visited our Camp one of them informed us that he had killed 2 Indians on this ground in a battle some years ago as they were at war with Some nations to the Southward.

Friday 18<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a clear cool morning we took breakfast and set out<sup>1</sup> crossed the Columbia River to the N. Side proceeded on Soon came to a rapid where we made a Short portage and towed up the canoes & proceeded on up a rapid current to the bason & landed on the N. Side about 3 P. M. unloaded the canoes cut the large ones for firewood Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark had purchased 4 horses. we packed several articles to the village to purchase horses. bought 2 dogs several cakes of chappalell &C.

Saturday 19<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a clear cold morning a little Snow fell on the hills last night. all hands went at packing the baggage past the portage which is about 2 miles towards evening we got all the baggage and canoes carried to the head of the narrows above the village & Camped carried our firewood past the portage also as it is so hard [to procure] about the village that the Savages value it high. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark bought 3 or 4 more horses this day.

<sup>1</sup> From the foot of the Dalles of the Columbia, where the town of The Dalles is located, to their commencement in the Great (or Celilo) Falls is a distance of fourteen miles. This portion of their route was covered by the explorers on April 18, 19, 20, and the forenoon of April 21.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and 3 men Set out this evening to go up to the Short narrows at a village in order to purchase horses untill our arival.

Sunday 20<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a clear cold morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis went to tradeing for horses &C. Several of our men went out to hunt their horses but could not find all of them we expect the Indians loosed their Spanil [spancels] and took them away expecting a reward to git them again. so we hired the Indians to hunt them. found all except one who the man we bought him of Gambled him away with Some [men] of an other nation & they had taken him away. all the Indians we have Seen play a game & risque all the property they have at different games. the game that these Savages play is by setting in a circle & have a Small Smooth bone in their hands & Sing crossing their hands to fix it in a hidden manner from the other Side who gass [guess] the hand that has it in then counts one a Stick Stuck in the ground for tallies & So on untill one Side or the other wins the propertey Stacked up. this game<sup>1</sup> is played with activity, and they appear merry & peaceable. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis took the property from the man that gambled away our horse. we Sold old Robes Elk Skins &C. &C. for white beeds. these Savages have but little pounded Salmon in their village as they trade it to Several other nations &C. the Indians would not give us any thing worth mentioning for our canoes so we split & burnt one of them this evening. we tyed up our horses &C. we bought 2 more dogs & some chappalell &C.

Monday 21<sup>st</sup> of April 1806. a clear cold morning. one of our horses broke away last night we found him after hunting a while this morning we make ready to depart from this place as the Indians are verry troublesome to us have stole 5 or 6 tomma-hawks Iron Spoons &C. &C.<sup>2</sup> we loaded our horses 9 in number. 4 men took 2 small canoes by water. we set out about 8 oClock and procee<sup>d</sup> on about noon arived at the village below the big falls. joined Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark who had not purchased any horses. we bought 2 dogs. the Indians returned us a horses in lieu of one of those we lost &C. we carryed the canoes past the portage and mooved all above the portage and dined and proce<sup>d</sup> on the N. Side

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed description of this game see Clark's journal for April 18.

<sup>2</sup> Ordway pictures but faintly the misconduct and knavery of the Indians. Probably for the only time during the entire expedition Lewis inflicted physical chastisement on an Indian—and completed the job by ordering the men to kick him out of camp.

to a village opposite the mouth of Clarks River<sup>1</sup> where we Camped as the road leaves the river at this place we bought 3 dogs and a little wood to cook with one of the canoes Stayed on the opposite Side.

Tuesday 22<sup>nd</sup> of April 1806. a clear pleasant cold morning. we loaded up our horses & set out. ascended a high hill one of the horses threw his load & Scattered it one of the Indians Stole a robe & hid it in one of their lodges. we found it<sup>2</sup> & proce<sup>d</sup> on [through] the high Smooth plain which is extensive & Smooth back from the river about noon we halted at a village of the Wal-a-wal tribe where we bought a dog and a little firewood. the wind so high from the N.W. that the canoes being on the opposite side of the river could not cross we purchased a horse. took a light dinner and proce<sup>d</sup> on about 6 miles and Camped<sup>3</sup> at a village where we purchased a horse 5 dogs and a little wood and considerable of new chappalell & C. in the evening Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass & R. Fields came across the river & joined us with one of the Small canoes.

Wednesday 23<sup>rd</sup> of April 1806. one of our horses broke loose and Strayed away last night we delayed to hunt for him & made two pack Saddles. we could not find our lost horse. about 10 AM. [we] Set out proce<sup>d</sup> on through high plains and banks of Sand along the river. the day warm. towards evening we arrived at a large village at the mouth of a creek<sup>4</sup> where we Camped our canoes came up. we purchased 4 dogs and a considerable quantity of Chappalell & C. the day warm. these Savages have lately moved here & have a great number of horses. our horses are troublesome as the most of them are Studs. but the feed is good [and] the prairie covered with flowers the natives are numerous at this place. they had a dance at our fire this evening. nearly the Same manner & way as those on the Missourie. we played the fiddle and danced & C. Several of the flat heads continue on with us & assist us as much as they are in their power.

<sup>1</sup> The Deschutes River, the largest tributary of the Columbia between the Willamette and the Snake. In its lower course it forms the boundary between Wasco and Sherman counties, Ore.

<sup>2</sup> But not until Captain Lewis had formed the resolution of burning the Indians' lodges by way of punishment for their misconduct. Fortunately it proved unnecessary to carry this resolution into effect.

<sup>3</sup> In Klickitat County, Wash., about twelve miles above the mouth of the Deschutes, and a little below John Day River.

<sup>4</sup> Rock Creek, in Klickitat County, Wash.

Thursday 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a clear cool morning. we delay to purchase horses so as to leave the canoes. one of our horses strayed away last night. we hired Indians to hunt him. these Savages are numerous & tribe of wa-hapari,<sup>1</sup> who come from a river to the North of this. a number of them went at playing a game for beeds and other property in the Same manner as that below. we purchased 3 horses & exchanged old axes & C. for beeds. these Savages are tollerable well cloathed in dressed Deer and mountain sheep skins & buffaloe robes, but live poor at this time, as they expect the Salmon to run Soon. we git plenty of new Shappalell for Small articles. they have a great number of horses. the most of them are good to ride or pack. the Indians found our lost horse. we hired 2 more of Some of the flat heads who are going with us. the Indians would not purchace our canoes, as they find we are going to leave them, but when we went to Split them they gave us 6 fathem of white beeds for them. about 11 A. M. we loaded up our horses and Set out proce<sup>d</sup> on the Sandy road about 12 miles and Camped<sup>2</sup> at a village where we bought a fiew dogs & gathered a fiew willows to cook with & C.

Friday 25<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a clear cool morning. we got up our horses. Set out proceeded on verry well over a pleasant plain, about 10 miles and halted at a large village of the pas-quete-pee [Pisquow] tribe who are verry numerous<sup>3</sup> and have a great number of good horses. we bought 5 dogs. our officers gave 2 meddles to 2 of their princepal men. Stayed to purchase horses but they do not incline to Sell any. one Indian brought back broken glasses which he purchased from us last fall & as they broke he wanted other glass in place & C. we dined and proce<sup>d</sup> on a number of Indians followed us. in the evening we Camped<sup>4</sup> at the commencement of a low Country on this Side.

<sup>1</sup> "Wahhowpum." Lewis. Coues supposes them to have been the Klikitat tribe.

<sup>2</sup> "about 2 miles below our encampment of the [blank space in Ms.] of October last." Lewis. The date left blank must have been October 20. Today's camp was twelve miles above the mouth of Rock Creek, which would place it in the vicinity of Arlington, Ore., but on the opposite side of the river. The camp of Oct. 20, 1805 was, therefore, two miles above this point.

<sup>3</sup> The village contained "about 700 soles." Clark.

<sup>4</sup> The explorers make the distance from the camp of April 25, in the vicinity of Roosevelt, to that of April 27 just below the mouth of Umatilla River on the Washington side of the Columbia, forty-eight miles. Twenty miles of this distance was covered in today's march, which would bring the camp in the vicinity of the western boundary of Benton County, Wash.

our officers purchased two horses from the Indians who followed us, as they wished to hear the fiddle we played & danced a little to please them. one of the party killed Several ducks to day.

Saturday 26<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. we got up our horses. took a light breakfast of a little dry Elk meat and set out proce<sup>d</sup> on over a low level Smooth Sandy plain about 12 miles & halted & dined on a little dry Elk meat as we have nothing else. the day warm. we delayed about 1 hour and procee<sup>d</sup> on a number of the natives followed us, who are mooveing up the river & Some of them are going over the rocky mount<sup>n</sup> to kill buffaloe. Saw considerable of Snow on the mountains to the South & S East. came 20 odd miles this day & Camped on the bank of the river.<sup>1</sup> only small willows to burn & C.

Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a little rain fell the latter part of last night. we Set out as usual and procee<sup>d</sup> on Soon pass<sup>d</sup> a small village of 3 lodges then assended a high plain where we saw an extensive country around us & not a tree to be seen came about 20 miles before we halted & delayed a Short time eat a little dry meat & let our horses feed a short time and procee<sup>d</sup> on about 5 miles further and arived at a large village of the wal-a-wal tribe, at the commencement of a low barron Smooth country where we Camped<sup>2</sup> bought a fat dog to each mess. these natives are numerous their is another village on the opposite Side of the river & a great number of horses. we get different kinds of roots and fresh Salmon trout & suckers & C. all these Savages are glad to See us and appear verry friendly.

Monday 28<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. a clear pleasant morning. our Indian guides who are going over the mountains with us inform us that their is a nearer way across the plains to the forks of Lewises river at the entrence of Kooskooski which is a smooth way and only 3 days march to that place which is almost as near again as to follow the river round.<sup>3</sup> So our officers conclude to cross the river at this place & take the near way. So we purchased 6 dogs from the natives to take with us. our Intrepters

<sup>1</sup> In the vicinity of Plymouth, Benton County, Wash. Just above camp the Umatilla River enters the Columbia from the south.

<sup>2</sup> "Nearly or exactly opposite the mouth of Walla Walla River." Cones.

<sup>3</sup> This marks the first divergence from the route pursued on the outward journey. Instead of following up the Columbia from the mouth of Walla Walla to the mouth of Snake River, and thence up the latter stream to the mouth of the Kooskooskee, at Lewiston, Idaho, the party pursued a more direct route across the plains from the mouth of the Walla Walla to a point on Snake River several miles below the mouth of the Kooskooskee.

wife found a woman of hir own nation who was a prisoner among these Indians, and as they could speak together our officers Spoke to the head chief & told him our business and that the white people would Supply them with marchandize at the head of the Missouri & C. asked for canoes to cross the river they said they wished us to Stay with them to day as we lived a great way off, and they wished to see us dance this evening & begged on us to Stay this day. So our officers concluded to Stay this day. the head chief brought up a good horse & said he wished to give it to us but as he was poor he wished us to give him some kind of a kittle, but as we could not spare a kittle Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark gave his Sword a flag and half pound of powder & ball for the horse. we took our horses across the river. our officers made another chief gave him a meddle & C. in the afternoon a number of Indians came to our officers who were diseased the lame and many with Sore eyes and lame legs<sup>1</sup> & arms & C. our officers dress<sup>d</sup> their wounds, washed their eyes & gave them meddicine and told them how to apply it & C. the chief called all his people and told them of the meddicine & C. which was a great wonder among them & they were much pleased & C. the Indians Sent their women to gether wood or Sticks to See us dance this evening. about 300 of the natives assembled to our Camp we played the fiddle and danced a while the head chief told our officers that they Should be lonesom when we left them and they wished to hear once of our meddicine Songs and try to learn it and wished us to learn one of theirs and it would make them glad. So our men Sang 2 Songs which appeared to take great affect on them. they tried to learn Singing with us with a low voice. the head chief then made a speech & it was repeated by a warriar that all might hear. then all the Savages men women and children of any size danced forming a circle round a fire & jumping up nearly as other Indians, & keep time verry well they wished our men to dance with them So we danced among them and they were much pleased, and Said that they would dance day and night untill we return. every few minutes one of their warries made a Speech pointing towards the enemy and towards the moon & C. & C.

<sup>1</sup> In 1902 a squaw named Petówya died on the Umatilla Indian Reservation at the age of 111 years. Her father was one of the natives whose "lame leg" was treated by Lewis and Clark at the mouth of Walla Walla River ninety-six years before, and until her death she distinctly remembered the visit of the white men and their medical ministrations. For her narrative see Wheeler, II, 254-59.



which was all repeated by another meddison man with a louder voice as [so] all might hear the dance continued untill about midnight then the most of them went away peaceable & have behaved verry clever and honest with us as yet, and appear to have a Sincere wish to be at peace and to git acquaintance with us & C. & C.

Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. we bought 2 more dogs to take us across the plains, and a little Shappalell & other roots & C. we borrowed a canoe from the Indians and crossed over the Columbia to the South Side above the mouth of the river which we took to [be] a byo where we pass<sup>d</sup> down last fall, and got all our baggage across the river and got up our horses. our guide telling us that it was a long distance to water, & further than we could go this day. So we mooved over 1 mile on the bank of the river which is named the wal-a-wal-a River near a large village of the wal-a-wal-a nation where we Camped<sup>1</sup> again. these Savages have wers [weirs] made of willows across this little river where they catch large quantiytes of Salmon trout, Suckers, & C. we bought a little Commass roots, Shappalell and a few more dogs & C. the most of the Savages moved across the river also, & they have a vast Site of horses. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis made a chief gave him a meddle. he gave a fine horse in return as a present. another chief who Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark made yesterday brought up another fine horse and made him a present of. we purchased another by giving a Small quantity of powder and ball. these natives are the kindest and the most friendly to us than any we have yet Seen. they have lately been at war with the Snake nation and many of them were kil<sup>d</sup> one of our men lift a steel trap on the other side.

Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> of April 1806. chilley and cold. the men went out for their horses an Indian brought a woman to Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark which [was] diseased. had not the use of hir limbs. he brought a fine horse and gave Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark for doctering hir he gave meddicine and told them how to apply it & C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark gave the Indian a white Shirt which pleased him verry much. about 11 A. M. we got our horses up by the assistance of the Indians and Set out proceeded on over Smooth barron Sandy plains not a tree nor shrub to be seen except a weed or shrub like wild hysop which is common. the natives use it when

<sup>1</sup> On the site of modern Wallula, Wash. Here old Fort Walla Walla, one of the earliest fur-trade establishments in this portion of the country, was established in 1818.

dry for fires to cook with &C. the Indian name of it is cum-cum. we came about 16 miles and Camped on the wal-a-wal river,<sup>1</sup> which has narrow bottoms partly covred with Small timber 2 or 3 men went out hunting, one of them killed a large beaver and an otter. Several of the horses chok<sup>d</sup> by eating some kind of a weed in this bottom, but they got over it after a while.

Thursday 1<sup>st</sup> day of May 1806. our hunters Set out eairly to go on a hunting. we Set out as usal & proceeded on up this river, over high plains and river bottom which is partly covred with cotton & other timber. the beaver are pleanty. one of the hunters kill<sup>d</sup> one. no other game to be seen about noon we halted to dine. Several of the Savages who accomp<sup>y</sup> us leave us here and take a cross road to the Columbia river. we proce<sup>d</sup> on up the branch, over Smooth handsom plains and bottoms. Saw a timbred country a long distance to the S. E. & Moun<sup>t</sup> of Snow. Saw Several deer run out of the groves of timber along the branch. about Sunset one of the hunters killed a deer. So we Camped by the branch<sup>2</sup> having made 26 miles this day Soon after we Camped two young men of the wal-a-wal tribe came up to our Camp & brought us our Steel trap which was forgot at their village. this is an Instance which we had not any right to expect from Savages. we gave them one a knife the other a Sun glass, &C. and a little vension. the wal-a-wal tribe of Flat heads have proved themselves the honnestest Savages we have met with for they had great chance to Steel had they been disposed, but instead of that they helped us as much as lay in their power and believe that we will return and trade with them, as we have told them. they disired us to bring them guns and ammunition, copper kittles. knives beads Scarlet buttons, and allmost any kind of marchandize as other Savages, &C.

<sup>1</sup> On the Touchet, a tributary of the Walla Walla, instead of on the latter stream itself. The day's journey was overland in a northeasterly direction from the modern town of Wallula to the point where the Indian trail intersected the Touchet River.

<sup>2</sup> The "branch" was Touchet River, the valley of which the party had been ascending all day. The camp was in eastern Walla Walla County between Prescott and Waitsburg, according to Coues; he further affirms that a person familiar with the locality "could almost pitch a tent where Lewis and Clark sleep tonight."

## CHAPTER XIV

### FROM THE WALLA WALLA TO THE HEADWATERS OF THE MISSOURI, MAY 2—JULY 9, 1806

Friday 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1806. a clear cold morning. the men got up all but one of our best horses which they could not find. Several hunters went on up the branch a hunting. Several of the men went out in different directions to look for the lost horse. one of them went back to where we took dinner yesterday and turned back. was Soon overtaken by an Indian who had caught our horse & was takeing him to us. as soon as the Indian returned him to us our officers gave a tommahawk knife and a p<sup>r</sup> overalls for the kindness. about noon we proceeded on up the branch over high plains & Smooth bottoms. the branch forked<sup>1</sup> in Several places high hills to our right covred with timber and partly covred with Snow. we crossed the branch in several places, where it was 3 feet deep. our hunters joined us in the evening. had killed only one beaver and one otter Camped on a fork of the branch<sup>2</sup> came [blank in Ms.] m<sup>ls</sup>

Saturday 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1806. a little rain the later part of last night, and continues Showery and cold a little hail & Snow intermixed. one of the hunters horses broke his hobbles and got away. about 7 we Set out proceeded on over high plains and hills. road being to the left from the branch. the wind blew verry high and cold Showers of hail & rain about noon we descended a hill. came on an other large creek<sup>3</sup> where we halted to dine on the last of our meat. our hunters Came up had found the lost horse a long distance back the road. our Indians went on this morning intending to git to the forks to day con-

<sup>1</sup> The main fork occurs at Dayton, Wash., where Pelat and Touchet creeks join. The route of the explorers led up the former stream.

<sup>2</sup> On Pelat Creek, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  miles above its junction with Touchet Creek at Dayton. At this point the road which the party was following left the headwaters of Touchet River and struck into the "open high plain" leading northeast toward the mouth of the Kooskooskee.

<sup>3</sup> Tucanon Creek, a tributary of Snake River: the expedition reached it in the vicinity of Marengo, Columbia County.

siderable of Snow fell on the high hills. Since yesterday. we delayed about 1 hour & left the creek named ke-moo-e-nim Creek ascended a high hill and proce<sup>d</sup> on over high plains. crossed 2 creeks, and followed up the third creek<sup>1</sup> the big horn chief who we Saw at the big forks last fall met us Several other Indians with him he appeared verry glad to See us and turned back with us we had considerable of hail & verry high winds. in the evening we Camped<sup>2</sup> having made 28 miles this day, having nothing to eat bought the only dog the Indians had with them. the air is very cold.

Sunday 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. a hard frost & verry cold this morning. we Set out as usal and proce<sup>d</sup> on left the creek and assended high plains came on a Small branch in a deep revean. followed down it. about noon we arived at a small village<sup>3</sup> on the bank of Lewises river where we halted about 10 miles below the forks of kooskooskee & Lewises rivers. we bought a little dark couloured root bread which is not good but will Support nature. bought 2 dogs & a fiew Small fresh fish & C. we dined<sup>4</sup> and proce<sup>d</sup> on Soon met one of the chiefs of the flat head or Chopennish tribe who we left our horses with & who went down to the narrows with us last fall. he tells us that tobe our Snake Ind<sup>a</sup> guide took 2 of our best horses away with him when he left us. we crossed Lewises river to the N. Side to a Small village where we bought only one dog and Camped<sup>5</sup> the head chief of the Chopennish tribe Camped with us and a number more of his tribe who came down to meet us, & C.

Monday 5<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. a white frost and verry cold this morning. we Set out having nothing to eat and proce<sup>d</sup> on up the river about 3 miles [when we] came to the forks at the mouth of the kooskooskee river.<sup>6</sup> followed up S<sup>d</sup> river Saw a great number of

<sup>1</sup> This was Pataha Creek, according to Coues.

<sup>2</sup> In Garfield County, a short distance east of Pataha City. Coues.

<sup>3</sup> The "Small branch" was modern Alpowa Creek; the village at its mouth, where the party dined, was on or near the site of modern Silcott, Wash.

<sup>4</sup> A culinary item of some interest is recorded by Lewis in connection with this meal. From the natives two lean dogs and some half-cured bread made of a root resembling the sweet potato were procured; from these ingredients a "soope" was concocted, and this, evidently, constituted the dinner menu.

<sup>5</sup> In Whitman County, Wash., on the north side of Snake River, 4½ miles below the mouth of the Kooskooskee.

<sup>6</sup> At this point the explorers crossed the state boundary between Washington and Idaho, and found themselves across the Kooskooskee River from Lewiston, Idaho, a short distance above the camp of Oct. 10, 1805.

horses on the high plains passed 2 small villages where we tried to purchase Some dogs. they did not incline to Sell any as they have but few. an Indian gave Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark a good horse we then proceeded on about noon we came to another Small village opposite the mouth of cottonwood creek where we bought 2 dogs and dined & proceed<sup>d</sup> on to Colters Creek & pah-map village where we Camped.<sup>1</sup> at this village the dogs are verry poor, and these natives have but little to eat except roots which the women are engaged pounding and make it in cakes and put it up over the fire to dry to take with them for provision across the rocky mountains. this villages is all in one joining for about 100 yards long and have different fires & dores but live much compact<sup>d</sup> and agreeable together. we could not purchase any thing to eat except a few of those roots or bread which they vallue high in the evening several of the natives which was diseased & Sick came to our officers to be healed who gave & applyed medicine. the natives promised to reward us by giving us a good horse tommorrow for us to eat as they wished us to Stay two or 3 days with them.<sup>2</sup> finding a man of the Snake nation a prisoner here our officers told the chiefs by intrepation of thro 6 tongues what our business was and that our tradors would come about the head of the missourie and trade with them for furs & C.

Tuesday 6<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. a rainy wet morning the natives brought us the young horse they promised to give us last night which we excepted and Shot him to eat. as some of the men are gitting Sick eating roots. Several of the natives gambled in the same way as those below had buffaloe robes war axes & C Staked up the war axes these Indians have they got from the Grouse-vauntares on the Missourie & they got them from us at the Mandans. about noon we Set out proceeded on up the river pass<sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Today's camp was 1½ miles above the camp of Oct. 8, 1805. Colter's Creek is modern Potlatch River. The camp was at its mouth, in Nez Perce County, Idaho, about midway between the towns of Spalding and Myrtle.

<sup>2</sup> The medical fame of the two captains in this locality was enhanced by the fact that Clark had prescribed some liniment, the preceding autumn, for an Indian who complained of a pain in his knee and thigh. Whether or not because of the efficacy of the prescription the man shortly afterward recovered, and attributed the credit to Clark. Without themselves venturing to claim it, the captains now utilized Clark's medical reputation to procure, in return for his services, the food necessary to the party's subsistence. In view of their want and their inability otherwise to procure food, Lewis considered the deception pardonable; but the amateur physicians took care to give the natives "no article which can possibly injure them."

a large lodge. Some part of the road is rocky & rough in the evening we Camped near a small village.<sup>1</sup> the big horn chief and a number other Indians Camped with us.

Wednesday 7<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. a fair morning. we Set out Soon after Sunrise and proceeded on to a creek<sup>2</sup> and lodge where we got our two canisters of powder which we hid about 7 miles above this as we pass<sup>d</sup> down. they told us that the dogs Scratched open the hole and they finding the powder took care of it for us. we gave them Small articles for being so honest we crossed the river to the South Side. dined and proce<sup>d</sup> on up the river ascended a high hill. Saw the rocky mountains covred with Snow. the country on these hills is verry rich, thinly covred with pitch pine, thick grass plants wild onions, &C. descended a hill down on a creek followed up the creek a short distance and Camped<sup>3</sup> at an old In— [Indian] Camp fishery or were [weir] has lately been made in this creek considerable of cotton wood & pine on this creek. Some of the men killed a duck & a pheasant only.

Thursday 8<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. a fair morning. we delay a while to hunt. Several of the hunters went out and killed 4 Deer one of the hunters wounded a deer only broke its leg Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewises dog Seamon chased it caught it [and] killed it. we finding an Indian here belonging to the Snake nation our officers got some information of the country rivers &C. about 2 P. M. we Set out ascended a high hill. came on a high pleasant plain Scatering pine timber &c Soil rich & filled with with pine roots and plants &C. we met the twisted hair the chief of the Chopennish tribe who we left our horses with [last autumn]. he did not app<sup>e</sup>ar Sociable as when we left him our officers asked the Snake Ind<sup>n</sup> to ask him where our horses were but he did not incline to speak, so we proce<sup>d</sup> on to a small run where we Camped.<sup>4</sup> the chiefs kept themselves at a distance for a while then by an invitation came and Smoked and the intrepters Spoke & we got information concern<sup>g</sup> our horses and found that the twisted hair & the head chief cut nose as we call him is not at a good understanding with each other re-

<sup>1</sup> On the north side of the Kooskooskee, nine miles above the mouth of Potlatch River, and four miles below the mouth of Bed Rock Creek.

<sup>2</sup> "Modern Bed Rock Creek." Coues.

<sup>3</sup> The creek, according to Coues, was modern Jack's Creek, a southern tributary of the Kooskooskee. The camp was in Nez Perce County, several miles above the mouth of Jack's Creek.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently on a tributary of Big Cañon River, or, possibly, on the latter stream itself.

specting our horses, caused by jealousy but inform<sup>d</sup> us that the most of our horses and pack Saddles were Safe, but Some of boath had been [made] use of by the admittance of the head chief. Several of fowls such as pheasants &C. kill<sup>d</sup> this day. N. B. the wolves kill<sup>d</sup> one of our colts last night.

Friday 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. we Set out & proce<sup>d</sup> on about 6 miles to the twisted hairs village where we Camped. the chief Sent for our horses & pack Saddles one of our men went for the ammunition we left at canoe Camp<sup>1</sup> a band of Indians came from another village to See us. towards evening Willard return<sup>d</sup> with the ammunition and the pack Saddles the Indians brought up the most of our horses. Some of them in good order. we caught & hobbled them. Some of them had been rode after Deer &C. these plains are Smooth Soil rich & filled with commass wild onions and white roots call<sup>d</sup> halse & other roots good for food which the natives live on at this Season of the year. the evening cold rainy & windy.

Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. the wind fell and the rain turned to Snow Some time last night and the Snow fell 6 Inches deep & continues chilly & cold this morning, & we had not any thing to eat. got up our horses & Set out & proce<sup>d</sup> on over a high Smooth plain no timber. the Snow melts a little but the air cold. wrote about 20 miles descended a steep hill down in a valley and bottom in which a creek runs through, and Camped<sup>2</sup> near a village of the head chiefs of ab<sup>t</sup> 15 lodges. they had their flag hoisted and appeared glad to see us. gave us some commass roots which had been Swetted last fall. some Shappalell and a little dry fish, but have but little the natives have great numbers of horses gave us two to kill. we killed one to eat. Some of the women pitched a leather lodge and brought wood & made a fire in it and [the] chiefs invited our officers to Stay in it, and talked together our officers told them our business & C. in the evening we played the fiddle and danced a while a number of Indians came from other villages to See us the Snow is gone in this bottom but

<sup>1</sup> At the Forks of the Kooskooskee or Clearwater, where the party had encamped from Sept. 26 to Oct. 7, 1805, while engaged in building canoes in which to descend the Columbia. The nearest indication of the location of today's camp is afforded by the statement of Lewis that it was four miles distant from Canoe Camp. This means four miles to the westward of Canoe Camp, in the direction of the upper waters of Big Cañon (or Little Cañon) River.

<sup>2</sup> Today's route led up the west side of the Kooskooskee, to modern Law-  
yer's Cañon Creek, the boundary between Lewis and Idaho counties. The camp of May 10-13 was on this creek some three or four miles above its entrance into the Kooskooskee.

lyes on the high plains & hills considerable of cottonwood and wild or choke cherry along this creek & Scattering pine on the edges of the hills, &C. we are now as near the Mountains as we can git untill Such times as the Snow is nearly gone off[f] the mountains as we are too eairly to cross. one of the party purchased a dog this even<sup>g</sup> but the most of their dogs are too poor to eat.

Sunday 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. a fair morning. a number of the natives who were diseased came to our officers to be healed Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark applied meddison and done all possable for them. one of the Indians gave Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark a fine horse. George Drewyer came in from hunting. had killed two Deer. the Indians brought us several more of our horses &C. in the evening we fiddled and danced a while. the natives assembled to see us.

Monday 12<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. a clear pleasant morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark attended on the Sick natives. three brave men of this tribe painted up three of their horses the best they had & were excelent horses they made a present of them to our officers. our officers then gave them some ammunitiion and they locked hands with our officers as a Sincere token of friendship &C. we killed another horse they gave us to eat. our officers gave the chief a musket towards taking care of our horses. Swapped Several of our horses for better ones &C.

Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. a clear frosty morning. we collected all our horses 60 in number now together and all good except 4 which has Sore backs, &C. a number of the natives went at playing the game as those below had considerable property up on each Side Such as beed[s] Strips of otter Skins which was filled with rich Shells, trinkets & Spanish bridles &C. &C. about 12 oClock we set out and proce<sup>d</sup> on down the creek. a bold runing Stream about 15 y<sup>ds</sup> wide. considerable of cotton & cherry servis berry also in the bottoms. about 4 miles we came to its mouth a handsom low plain rich Soil & timber around went a short distance down [up] the kooskooskee river and halted to wait for a canoe which we expect the natives to bring us from above this place. we intend crossing the river here and Camp on the other Side untill Such times as the Snow will admit of our crossing the mountains.<sup>1</sup> a number of the natives followed us we Swapped several horses with them.

<sup>1</sup> They had been informed by the Indians that the mountains would be impassable until "after the next full moon"—that is, until some time in June. Accordingly the plan was formed of camping on the eastern side of the Kooskooskee until such time as the melting of the snow should make possible the



Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. a clear frosty morning. three men went across the river a hunting. we took our baggage and Swam our horses across the river to the N. Side and mooved a Short distance down the river and Encamped<sup>1</sup> in a Smooth bottom partly covred with young pitch pine in order to stay untill we can cross the mountains. a number of the natives came across the river to our Camp. Some of the principal men gave our officers two fine horses. our hunters returned had killed Collins two bear of the white kind, Labuche three white bear, and several prarie hens Shannon Several prarie hens and Squerrells. we gave the natives Some of our bear meat as they gave us so much & are So kind to us. they cooked it in the Same manner as they Swet their commass roots. we eat several of our stud horses as they have been trouble-some to us.

Thursday 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. a fair morning. one of our hunters Saw a white bear [we] followed it with horses but did not kill it. a number of the party went out to make a camp hunt. we made a shelter to put our baggage in down in a large celler where had formerly been a wintering house & has been a large village at this place. we formed our Camp around this celler so as in case of an alarm we can jump in the celler and defend ourSelves. built a bowery for our officers to write in. we tried out 5 gallons of bears oil and put it in a keg for the mountains &C.

### Encampment at kooskooskee river

Serg<sup>t</sup> Ordways journal continued from small book<sup>2</sup>

Friday 16<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor and two other men went out a hunting. we eat two more of our unruly Stud horses. a light

passage of the mountains. Today's camp was on the west bank of the Kooskooskee, about 1½ miles above the mouth of Lawyer's Cañon Creek.

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of Fort Mandan and Fort Clatsop the explorers occupied this camp a longer time than they remained in any other one place during the entire course of the expedition. Although not named by Lewis and Clark the camp has been named by students of the expedition, in honor of the neighboring Indians, Camp Chopunnish. It was occupied from May 13 until June 10, 1806, exactly four weeks. The site of Camp Chopunnish is less than two miles below Kamiah, Idaho, on the opposite side of the Kooskooskee. For a description of the locality as it appeared in 1902, see Wheeler, II, 269-71.

<sup>2</sup> With the entry for May 16, 1806, begins a new (and the final) volume of the manuscript journal. The covers of the volume are gone, and the outer page is much stained and discolored. The contents of this page and the following one (not presented here) consist of a few disjointed memoranda of game

rain in the fore part of the day. the after part pleasant. in the evening our hunters except two returned had wounded three white bear and killed two two Deer, which they brought in the meat.

Saturday 17<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. rained the greater part of last night and continues this morning. about 10 oClock A. M. Serg<sup>t</sup> pryor and Collins returned had killed one black bear and one white bear, and brought in one of them. in the evening our officers directed that 10 or 12 hunters turn out a hunting tommorrow. assigned them horses Some three & others 4 to hunt on in turn.

Sunday 18<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. cloudy. eleven of our hunters Set out on horseback in order to go out some distance back in the high country to make a Camp hunt. and two men went out for the meat of the bear killed on 16<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> in the evening 4 of our hunters return<sup>d</sup> had kill<sup>d</sup> nothing but one hawk & a pheasant.

Monday 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. a light rain. four of the party went up to a village about 4 miles up the river on S. Side to purchase Some roots & Shappalell & C. about noon cleared off pleasant & warm in the evening Several of the hunters return<sup>d</sup> had kill<sup>d</sup> nothing. the men return<sup>d</sup> from the village with a considerable quantity of white roots & C. which the natives call couse<sup>1</sup> and a little Shappalell & C.

Tuesday 20<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. rained all last night and continues this morning, but Snows on the hills. Colter and Shannon return<sup>d</sup> had kill<sup>d</sup> nothing but had wounded a white bear. Soon after Labuche return<sup>d</sup> with the flesh of a large black tail<sup>d</sup> Deer which he had kill<sup>d</sup> but the Deer are Scarse & verry wild. rained the greater part of the day.

Wednesday 21<sup>st</sup> May 1806. continues rainy & wet. I and one more of the party went up to a village about 5 miles on South Side on the Side of a hill & Spring run we purchased some white roots Shappalell & C. Some of the women in the village were crying aloud at different times in the course of the day. I Signed the reason of their lamenting & they gave me to understand that they had lost Some of their Sons in battle and that was the custom among them when their relation died they mourn and lement a long time after the aged women only make a loud noise. we stayed in the village all night.

taken at different times. There is no break in the narrative journal, which begins on page three of the book.

<sup>1</sup> This root, a species of ginseng, is identified by Coues (III, 1000) as "the well known *Peucedanum Cous*."

Thursday 22<sup>nd</sup> of May 1806. a clear cold frosty morning. the most of the women went out eairly with their horses to dig roots. the women do the most of the Slavery as those on the Missourie the men went eairly to a Swet house built a large fire and put in a large quantity of Small Stone and het them red hot then put them in some water in the Swet hole which was prepared for that purpose & only a hole big enofe to git in one at a time. about 12 at on once got in to the hole untill they Sweet then went in the water and bathed themselves. then in the hole again and bathed themselves in that way for about 2 hours. they Signed to me that it was to help them of Some disease & Sore eyes, &C. &C. I then returned with a back load of white roots to the Encampment. Several of the party were employed makeing a canoe for convenience of the fishing &C and 4 men were gone a hunting. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor was sent down to the mouth of Collins creek [Lolo Creek] to see if their is any good place to encamp as all may moove down in our canoe for a better place to fish and hunt if the place will admit &C. we haveing had no meat of any account for several days we killed a fine colt. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor return<sup>d</sup> without finding the mouth of Collins creek as the clifts were so high he got only 8 miles five of our hunters return<sup>d</sup> had killed five deer and brought in the meat. a number of Indians chased a deer down the hills with their horses on South Side of the river it took the river tho the Ind<sup>s</sup> had wounded it with their arrows. Some of the party Shot in [it] in the river and the Indians got it. in the evening we made a fire on the canoe to burn it out.

Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1806. clear & pleasant. Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor wounded a deer at a lick near our Camp it Swam the river to the S. Side two Indians who Stay<sup>d</sup> with us last night Swam the river with their horses and ran the deer it took the river and Swam back again. Serg<sup>t</sup> pryor then killed it and gave the Indians one half of it who Swam their horses back after it. Wm bratton having been so long better than 3 months nearly helpless with a Severe pain in his back we now undertake Sweeting him nearly in the manner as the Indians do only cover the hole with blankits having bows bent over above the hole. we expect this operation will help him.<sup>1</sup> we continue burning out the canoe &C. about noon

<sup>1</sup> Of all the medical treatments given by Lewis and Clark none was more interesting than Bratton's. He had been helpless since before the beginning of the homeward journey from Fort Clatsop. Although he ate heartily and digested his food well his strength did not return, notwithstanding the amateur doctors tried on him every remedy their "engenuity" could devise. Now

our hunters all came in empty had killed nothing except a few fowls most of our men went to the village we were camped at. Some time past and bought considerable of course & Shappalell & C. Some of the natives caught 3 Salmon to day.

Saturday 24<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. a clear pleasant warm day. Several of the natives came down the river in a canoe. Several of the party went across the river to the village and Several Indians came across to our Camp. Several hunters went out to day a hunting.

Sunday 25<sup>th</sup> of May 1806. a Thunder Shower early this evening. we undertook to Sweet the Sick Indian<sup>1</sup> but he being quite helpless did not carry it into effect. four of our hunters went out a hunting 2 of which went across the river to the South Side the canoe being burnt enofe we went at finishing it & C. two hunters came in this evening had kill<sup>d</sup> nothing.

Monday 26<sup>th</sup> May 1806. clear & pleasant. two men went out a hunting. we finished the canoe and put it in the river. a number of the natives visited us. the river riseing. our two hunters return<sup>d</sup> from the South Side of the river. the creek being so high they did not go to where was any hunting but purchased considerable of Shappalell and course roots & C.

Tuesday 27<sup>th</sup> May 1806. J. Frazer and wiser [and I] Set out to go over to the ki-mooenim river<sup>2</sup> for fish [word missing] Swam

"John Shields observed that he had seen men in a similar situation restored by violent sweats," and Bratton requested the captains to experiment on him with the treatment. Shields dug a hole three feet in diameter and four feet deep, and in it kindled a large fire. When the hole had become thoroughly heated the fire was removed, a seat placed in the hole for the sick man to sit on, and a thick covering of layers of blankets erected over it. In this device Bratton was subjected for twenty minutes to as severe a steam or vapor bath as he could endure. He was then taken out, "suddenly plunged in cold water twice," and immediately returned to the sweat hole for another three-quarters of an hour, during which time he drank copious draughts of a strong tea made of horsemint. The day after this heroic "experiment" had been made the patient was walking about and professed himself nearly free from pain; from this time his recovery was rapid.

<sup>1</sup> A chief who had lost the use of his limbs, and whom Lewis and Clark had previously prescribed for without success. Lewis was confident he would be "an excellent subject for electricity," and regretted the impossibility of trying it on him.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis or Snake River. The captains supposed it to be much nearer their camp than it actually was, and Ordway was told to return the following day if possible. Instead he reached camp again on June 2, having made an excursion of some seventy miles to the westward.

our horses and waid<sup>d</sup> on [word missing] village on commcap creek<sup>1</sup> three young men went on with us up s<sup>d</sup> creek about 5 miles left this creek ascended a high hill on a plain and proce<sup>d</sup> on pass<sup>d</sup> a lodge where we Struck the creek again followed up Said creek about 8 miles farther and came to the chiefs village which took care of our horses. the [word illegible] chief and as the old man said he was a going on with us in the morning the young men returned and we camped here, and had a hard Thunder Shower. the Indians grass houses leak.

Wednesday 28<sup>th</sup> May 1806. we Set out eairly the old chief and an other Ind<sup>n</sup> went with us. we rode on a plain about 2 hours then left the road and bore South thro an unlevel timbred country untill towards evening. Saw Several big horn animel or mountain Sheep and Saw 14 deer in this timbred country Some Spots of Snow & falling timber. had a hard Thunder Shower. towards evening we descended a bad hill down on a creek followed it down Some distance and arived at a village where we Camped.

Thursday 29<sup>th</sup> May 1806. rained the greater part of last night. a rainy morning. we took a light breakfast Frazer got 2 Spanish mill dollars from a squaw for an old razer we expect they got them from the Snake Indians who live near the Spanish country to the South. we proce<sup>d</sup> on Shortly arived at a fork<sup>2</sup> of the kimoo-enim or Lewises river followed down it Some distance then left it and bore to the right up a creek. pass<sup>d</sup> one lodge crossed a steep bad hill and descended down a long hill an[d] a run pass a large lodge and descended the worst hills we ever saw a road made down. towards evening we arived at the kimooenim or Lewises river<sup>3</sup> at a fishery at a bad rapid. our chief told us to set down and not go in the lodge untill we were invited so we did at length they invited us in. spread robes for us to sit on and Set a roasted Salmon before us and Some of their white bread which they call uppah. we eat hearty of this fat fish but did not eat  $\frac{1}{4}$  of it. it was Set up for us. this lodge is about 100 feet long and 20 wide and all in one but they have but fiew Salmon.

<sup>1</sup> Lawyer's Cañon Creek. The route led the party up this stream, and the day's camp was on its upper waters.

<sup>2</sup> They had reached the Salmon River in its lower course—according to Lewis (journal, June 2) at a point twenty miles above its junction with Snake River.

<sup>3</sup> A few miles below the mouth of Salmon River. They were in what is now southern Nez Perce County, Idaho, on the opposite side of the river from Wallowa County, Ore.

Friday 30<sup>th</sup> May 1806. a number of In<sup>d</sup> left this eairly with nearly all the Salmon which was caught so we had to wait here to day expecting to git some Salmon the natives roasted an other Salmon & Set before us to eat. in the afternoon we purchased as many Salmon as we thought was necessary to take home and hung them up the most they catch is on the opposite shore along the rocks in the whorls & eddys. we Saw only three dip nets at 3 places a fishing.

Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> May 1806. Some of the young Indians Stole some of our fish and went away in the night. we got up our horses eairly and set out on our return our old chief and his man stayed as they had got no fish yet, so we followed back the same road we went on to the the fork of the kimooenim [Salmon River] which the Indian name of it is Toomonamah river which is about 150 yards wide. we followed up to the village we left the day before yesterday. their the chief directed us another way whi[ch] he said was nearer & a better road and Sent 2 boys to show us the way to a village on the road. they took us over a verry bad hill down on to the Thommonama river again then left the river [and] ascended a high long hill near the top of which is a large village we Camped near s<sup>d</sup> village as night came on.

Sunday 1<sup>st</sup> day of June 1806. we Set out eairly<sup>1</sup> a young man went and put us on the road which he said was a near way & a good road. we wrode thro the timbred country struck the head of a creek in the plain followed down said creek pass<sup>d</sup> one lodge about noon the road left the creek and kept thro the high plain a good road. towards evening we came down the river hills to a large village above the forks on kooskooskee river. we halted a short time to let our horses feed a little and git something to eat ourselves. bought considerable uppah and couse from the natives and proceeded on to another village down the river near the forks.<sup>2</sup> night came on and we Camped here at the chiefs lodge that gave us so many horses they appeared verry friendly to us and gave us a large cake of uppah their is a vast site of excellent horses

<sup>1</sup> To return to the main party. Although Thwaites says (V, 100) the journey is easily traced, it is not easy to fix precisely the route followed. Apparently they journeyed, from the point some twenty miles above the mouth of Salmon River, across to Cottonwood Creek, and followed down its valley to the South Fork of the Kooskooskee; thence down this stream until they reached Camp Chopunnish.

<sup>2</sup> The junction of the South and Middle Forks of Kooskooskee or Clearwater River. The camp was across the river from the site of Kooskia, Idaho.

Scattered along this river which they offer to Sell for a Squaw axe pr peace & 2 or 3 for a gun & a little ammun<sup>t</sup>

Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1806. a fair morning. we Set out eairly and turned down the river pass<sup>d</sup> 2 more villages about 12 oClock we arived at our Camp. found the river verry high indeed. Swam the horses across and got across in an Indian canoe as our men informed us that as Some of our men were crossing several days past our large canoe ran against Some trees as they were going to Shore and the canoe upset and Sank emediately. the men got Safe to Shore but lost three blankets one blanket cappo and Several articles, they had for trade &C. they had killed a horse soon after we went away to eat which the natives gave us for that purpose Soon after our hunters killed and brought to Camp 12 Deer. Some of our castrated horses are nearly well and one is Sick and like to dye. So Some of our men went and Shot him &C. towards evening the head chief of the cho-pennish nation came to our Camp with George Drewyer and brought and gave up a tomahawk<sup>1</sup> which Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark lost last fall which the chief kept for us.

Tuesday 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1806. clouded up and Sprinkled a little rain. a number of the natives visited us. three of our hunters came in had killed five deer and one black bear. my horse that I wrote over to the kinooenim river nearly failed and his back verry sore and poor & in low Spirits and as luck would have it an Indian brought me a large good strong horse and Swaped with me as he knew my horse to be good when in order to run the buffaloe which is their main object to git horses that will run and Swap their best horses for Servis, for them that will run if they are not half as good as otherways.

Wednesday 4<sup>th</sup> June 1806. rained the greater part of last night a wet morning one of our hunters John Shields came in had killed 2 Deer and brought in the meat. the after part of the day fair.

Thursday 5<sup>th</sup> June 1806. a fair morning. Several of the party went across the river to Some villages and purchased Some uppah & couse. towards evening our hunters all came in had killed one black bear and five deer and informed us that an Indian had Set out Some days past to cross the mountains if possable but soon

<sup>1</sup> Two tomahawks rather, one of which Clark had left in camp and the other of which had been stolen. The latter was especially prized, because it had been the personal property of Sergeant Floyd and Clark was desirous of returning it to the dead soldier's friends.

after dark he returned to our Camp and informed us that he went over one mountain and in attempting to cross a creek which was high and rapid his horse fell and hurt him So he turned back to wait untill the water falls. the river koos<sup>kee</sup> is falling fast.

Friday 6<sup>th</sup> June 1806. a fair morning. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and five men went across the river to some villages. one of the party who Stayed at the commeap village last night return<sup>d</sup> [and] informed us that 5 of the Sho-Sho-nee of Snake nation had come to make peace or treaty with this nation towards evening Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & party returned the young chief who gave us Several horses and Several more of the natives of his village accompany<sup>d</sup> them & C.

Saturday 7<sup>th</sup> June 1806. cloudy & light Showers of rain intermixed with hail & Snow. the air cold. Several of the party went over the river to some villages all except 2 return<sup>d</sup> with Some uppah and couse & C.

Sunday 8<sup>th</sup> June 1806. the 2 men return<sup>d</sup> from the villages. a number of the natives visited us and gave Frazer a fine young horse a number of the natives joined and got out our canoe which was sank. our party exercised themselves running and playing games called base<sup>1</sup> in the evening danced after the fiddle as the Indians were anxious to see them.

Monday 9<sup>th</sup> June 1806. a number of the natives Stayed with us last night. a chief we call cut nose went some distance after young Eagles. got several by climbing a tree by a by a rope. the feathers of these eagles the Indians make head dresses war like & paint them & is a great thing among them. we got up our horses and hobbled them as we intend to moove to morrow.

Tuesday 10<sup>th</sup> June 1806. clear & pleasant. we went earily for our horses found all except 2. about 10 A. M. we Set out and proce<sup>d</sup> on ascended a high hill then decended it down on Collins Creek forded it and ascended a high hill on to a livel timbred country 2 or 3 men was left to look for the lost horses. proce<sup>d</sup> thro thickets of young slim pines & balsom fer timber about 4 P.M. we arived at the Commass ground where we Camped 22

<sup>1</sup> "several foot races were run this evening between the indians and our men. the indians are very active; one of them proved as fleet as Drewyer and R. Fields, our swiftest runners. when the racing was over the men divided themselves into two parties and played prison base, by way of exercise which we wish the men to take previously to entering the mountain; in short those who are not hunters have had so little to do that they are geting reather lazy and slouthfull." Lewis.



Sep<sup>t</sup> last but no villages here now. we Camped here<sup>1</sup> for a few days to kill some deer to take Some meat for the mountains. this level consists of about 2000 ackers of level Smooth prarie on which is not a tree or Shreub, but the lowest parts is covred with commass which is now all in blossom, but is not good untill the Stalk is dead, then the natives assemble and collect their winters food in a short time as it is verry convenient for their villages as points of timber runs out in the praries of higher ground & covred with pitch pine. a fine timbred country all around this rich land the Soil is deep black & verry rich & easy for cultervation our men all came up had found only one of the 2 lost horses. Several of the natives accompanied us. Several of our hunters went out this evening a hunting. they all returned at dark Collins had killed one deer. Some of the rest wounded Several others &C.

Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup> June 1806. clear and pleasant all the party that could hunt turned out at day light a hunting. about noon all returned to Camp. Gibson had killed one fine large buck & Labuche killed a black bear and a large buck & a crain. Some of the other hunters wounded Several deer & killed Several pheasants &C. a number Indians went across this commass flat on horse back to another prarie or flat to the North of this a hunting but killed nothing. Several of our hunters went out again this afternoon our horses have excelent feed in this pleasant commass flat. Some of the hunters came in this evening and Several Stayed out in the woods for an eairly hunt in the morning. the Indians all went away from our Camp &C.

Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> June 1806. a clear pleasant morning. a number more hunters went out eairly to hunt. about 10 oClock Some of them came in Shields had killed two fine bucks and brought in the meat. the rest of the hunters that came in kill<sup>d</sup> nothing. we fleased what meat we have to dry it for the Mountains. towards evening Several of our hunters went out Some distance to Stay all night and take an eairly hunt in the morning.

Friday 13<sup>th</sup> June 1806. a fair morning. Several men went out eairly from Camp a hunting about noon R. Fields and willard set out to go on about 10 miles a head and hunt at a small prarie untill we come up. our hunters all came in this afternoon and eight of them had killed each a deer Gibson Shields Shannon

<sup>1</sup> On the Weippe Prairie, some miles north of Lolo Fork, or Collins Creek, near the source of Jim Ford Creek and not far from the town of Weippe. For a recent description of the locality and the camping ground of the explorers see Wheeler, II, 278-80.

Collins J<sup>o</sup> Fields Drewyer Labuche and [blank space in Ms.] all the meat except Labuches was brought in & that the ravens & buzzards eat while he was hunting a little more after killing it. one of the other hunters Colter killed a large crain.

Saturday 14<sup>th</sup> June 1806. Some cloudy Several hunters went out eairly about 10 oClock Colter came in had killed a deer and found eight ducks eggs. the day verry warm.

Sunday 15<sup>th</sup> June 1806. we arose at day light and went out in this flat for our horses. Soon Set in to raining hard. we got up all our horses took breakfast & packed up and Set out about 8 oClock and proceeded on. found the road verry slipperry & bad took the mountains and the road So bad several of our horses fell about noon we had Thunder and hard Showers of rain. we crossed several runs on which is considerable of white ceedder timber balsom fer & diffrent kinds of pine. we have now 66 good horses to take us and our baggage across the mountains. came to the small prarie where R. Fields and willard had been hunting found 2 deer hanging up which they had kill<sup>d</sup> we took the meat and procee<sup>d</sup> on down the bad hill on Collinses Creek where we found R. Fields and willard they had killed another Deer and were Camped on the bank of the Creek where we dined and proceeded on. found the road verry bad falling timber & C. at dark we Camped at a Small glade<sup>1</sup> where was pleanty of feed for our horses.

Monday 16<sup>th</sup> June 1806. two of our hunters went on to a glade a short distance to hunt we took an eairly breakfast the morning fair. we set out proce<sup>d</sup> on overtook the hunters who had killed nothing. folled up the glade and mountains Some distance then took the hills on to a ridge of falling timber towards noon we passed over high banks of Snow which bore up our horses. Some places 5 or 6 feet deep about noon we halted at a small branch & green to dine the grass is verry short and in the woods jest starting up. delayed about 2 hours and set forward again. Light Showers of rain this afternoon the Snow is more Common and much deeper. towards evening we came on hungry creek followed down it to a green where Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark killed a horse last fall for the party to eat. here we Camped. the young grass verry Short. the bushes are all bent flat down by the deep Snow lying

<sup>1</sup> On Lolo Fork, about ten miles above the main forks of the stream, according to Wheeler. His map (II, 112) of the route followed between Camp Chopunnish and Traveller's Rest Creek on the eastern side of the Bitter Root Mountains is the best available representation of this portion of the explorers' journey.

on them. the Snow must fall in these hollars in the winter 15 or 20 feet deep and perhaps the Snow drifts in and fills the hollers full.

Tuesday 17<sup>th</sup> June 1806. we Set out as usual the morning chilley and cloudy. we proceeded on down s<sup>d</sup> Creek about 6 miles then took up a high mountain. when we got about half way up it the ground was covred with Snow 3 or 4 feet deep as we ascended higher it got deeper untill we got to the top of the mountain where it was 12 or 15 feet in general even on the South Side where the Sun has open view but is so settled so that it bears up our horses. here is not a sign of any green Shrub or any thing for our horses to eat, and of course no better for 4 days march a head. if we could even find the road which is impossable without a guide as their is no sign of a road or trail here so we halted on the top of this mountain and our officers consulted on what was best to do. at length determined to our Sorrow to return to where we might git feed for our horses. So we Scaffelled up all our baggage we could do a Short time with out. set in to hailing & raining at this time verry cold and disagreeable. so we turned back much against our expectations when we started went back on hungry creek & followed up it about 2 miles & Camped for the night.

Wednesday 18<sup>th</sup> June 1806. cloudy Drewyer and Shannon Sent on a head to go to the villages of the pel-oll-pellow nation<sup>1</sup> they took one of the short rifles in order to git a pilot if possible to go over the mount<sup>n</sup> with us. 2 of our horses could not be found this morning, so 2 men was left to hunt them. we Set out about 8 oClock proce<sup>d</sup> on with 4 men in front to clear the limbs and bushes out of the path. we got but a short distance before one of the men Potts who was of the front cut his leg verry bad with a big knife we halted a few minutes Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Sowed up the wound and bound it up we then proceeded on a short distance further in crossing the creek Colters horse threw him in the creek lost his blanket and hirt him a little. about noon we halted to dine at the Same place we dined on the 16<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> at which time came up a hard Shower of hail and rain and hard Thunder, which lasted about an hour and cleared off. the 2 Fields Stayed here to hunt we proceeded on towards evening we we arived at the long glades on a branch of Collinses Creek where is fine feed for our horses. so we Camped in order to Stay if the

<sup>1</sup> "to the Choppunish Indians in the plains beyond the Kooskooskee." Lewis.

hunters kill game untill a guide comes or untill the road is so that we can go but it depends on the hunters and game in a great measure. the musketoes verry troublesome at this place. several Salmon seen in this branch &C.

Thursday 19<sup>th</sup> June 1806. a fair morning. several men went out a hunting & 2 went at fishing with Indi<sup>n</sup> gigs which Some of the party had with them but could see only now and then a Scattering one, and could not kill any. about noon Labuche came in with a deer which he had killed. Shortly after all our men who Stayed back came up R. Fields had killed two deer, but Shields had not found the 2 lost horses. towards evening Gibson giked & kill<sup>d</sup> one of the fish we took to be Salmon and we found it to be Salmon trout, and poor. we expect they all are that is in this creek. the Musketoes are verry troublesome.

Friday 20<sup>th</sup> June 1806. a fair morning. Several hunters went out eairly a hunting. about 11 A. M. R. Fields came in had killed a Brown bear about a mile down this glade. Several men went at fishing fixed gigs of Bayonets & Ind<sup>n</sup> gigs and fixed a dip net &C. and kill<sup>d</sup> and caught 7 Salmon trout towards evening Labuche and Cruzatte came in had killed one deer & caught one Salmon trout.

Saturday 21<sup>st</sup> June 1806. a fair morning. we got up our horses all except 4 which we expect has gone back to the Commass ground we Set out on our return to the Commass flat<sup>1</sup> where we expect we can kill Some more meat to start again with & to take us back in the moun<sup>t</sup> when we got down on Collinses Creek we met 2 Indians who were on their way to cross the moun<sup>t</sup> they had our 4 horses takeing them back to us had 5 horses of their own and provision to last them across the mountains. we halted and dined below the forks of Collinses Creek. these 2 Indians told us that we could have went on if in case we could have found the road, for as the Snow bears up the horses all can cross the high parts which is covred so thick with Snow in about 3 days and our horses cannot git any thing to eat dureing that time. we ascended the hill to the Small prarie the 2 Indians halted here to stay 2 or 3 days & wait for us to kill some meat & then pilot us across the Snow mountains. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass & the 2 Fields Stayed here to hunt. we desended the mountain down to the Commass flat towards evening and Camped at the old Camp-

<sup>1</sup> The camping place from June 10 to June 15.

ing ground. Several went out a Short distance to hunt & came in at dark. Shields had killed & brought in one deer.

Sunday 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1806. clear and pleasant. all the hunters turned out early this morning a hunting around this Commass flat. one man Set out to go over to the kooskooskee river for Salmon as the 2 Indians told us they catch plenty at this time about noon all the hunters came in had killed in all eight deer and two brown bear. towards evening the hunters turned out again and Collins killed a black bear.

Monday 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1806. a clear pleasant morning. The most of the hunters turned out again a hunting and killed two deer in the afternoon Drewyer Shannon & Whitehouse returned with the young chief and 2 other Indians who has engaged to go over the mountains as guides for us & C. in the afternoon two of the hunters came in had killed two deer. the Strawburys are plenty about this place.

Tuesday 24<sup>th</sup> June 1806. we got up all our horses and set out on our homeward bound journey again procee<sup>d</sup> on to Collinses Creek the three guides with us. the other 2 Indians who we lift here is gone on and 4 of our men went on after them. we dined and proceeded on towards evening we arived at a Small prarie on a branch of Collinses Creek<sup>1</sup> where the two Ind<sup>n</sup> and our men except 2 were waiting for us. the other 2 had gone on to hunt. the men who Stayed with the Indians had killed one deer.

Wednesday 25<sup>th</sup> June 1806. a little rain last night. we took an early breakfast and set out proceeded on about noon we came to an open place or small prarie joined the 2 Fields we find the Snow has melted considerable since we pass<sup>d</sup> we dined and procee<sup>d</sup> on to hungry Creek & found the 2 horses we lost here a few days past. the after part of the day Showery and wet we Camped<sup>2</sup> early as their is no grass near a head.

Thursday 26<sup>th</sup> June 1806. we Set out as usual and procee<sup>d</sup> on to the top of mountains covred with snow where we had left our baggage,<sup>3</sup> and packed up and procee<sup>d</sup> on we find the Snow has Settled a little more than 2 feet Since we left this the other day. proceeded on thro Snow deep in the evening we Came to the Side of a mountain where the Snow is melted away and a little

<sup>1</sup> "where we had lain the 15<sup>th</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup> insts." Clark. For the location see *ante*, 366, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Just below the camp of June 16." Wheeler.

<sup>3</sup> On June 17 when the first attempt to recross the mountains had been abandoned.

young grass & C. so we Camped.<sup>1</sup> Soon after we Camped another Ind<sup>a</sup> Came up who is going over the mount<sup>a</sup> with us.

Friday 27<sup>th</sup> June 1806. a fair morning. a fair morning. we took an early breakfast and proceeded on very fast over the high banks of Snow. the most part of the day and bad mountains. we came further to day than we went in 2 when we came over. and Camped on the South Side of a mountain where our horses find a little grass. the day warm and Snow melts fast.

Saturday 28<sup>th</sup> June 1806. a clear cool morning we set out as usual and proceeded on very well the Snow continues as yesterday, our guides took us on a ridge different from that we went last fall, but a better way.<sup>2</sup> about one o'clock we halted on the top of a bald mountain on the South Side of which our horses git tollarable feed. So we delay this afternoon to let our horses refresh themselves & C. in the evening we had Thunder & hail.

Sunday 29<sup>th</sup> June 1806. a fair morning. we got up our horses early two hunters went on a head. the fog rose up thick from the hollars we proceeded on a ridge descended down on a fork of Collinses Creek took the meat of a deer the hunters had killed crossed the creek above the forks some distance ascended a high mount<sup>a</sup> came in the old road we went in last year & proceed<sup>d</sup> on had a Shower of hail and Thunder. about 1 o'clock P. M. we arrived at the glades of the rocky mount<sup>a</sup> Crossed glade Creek Several times and halted at a handsom flat of grass and Com-mass. found that 2 of our horses got left back on the road 2 men went back for them Shields killed 2 crains we dined and proceed<sup>d</sup> on Soon came on the head waters of travellers rest Creek.<sup>3</sup> towards evening we arrived at the hot Stream where we Camped.<sup>4</sup> the 2 men came up with the 2 horses. had killed one deer. a number of the party as well as myself bathed in these hot Springs, but the water so hot that it makes the Skin Smart when I first entered it. I drank Some of the water also.

<sup>1</sup> Today's camp was a few miles beyond that of Sept. 18, 1805, and nine miles short of the camp of September 17.

<sup>2</sup> They were now retracing the portion of the Lolo Trail first passed over on Sept. 15, 1805. For the detour made on that occasion see *ante*, 286, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Lolo Creek, or Lolo Fork of the Bitter Root, which the party had ascended upon turning off from the last-named stream the preceding autumn.

<sup>4</sup> Boyle's Springs, first visited on the morning of Sept. 13, 1805. The dreaded passage of the mountains was now completed. Wheeler remarks that if the explorers did not break forth into the long-meter doxology "they should have done so." With the crossing of the mountains the party is once more in the state of Montana.

Monday 30<sup>th</sup> June 1806. a clear morning. we got up our horses as usual R. Fields killed a deer near the hot Springs in Scite of the Camp. two hunters went on a head. we Set out proce<sup>d</sup> on a muddy bad road down the creek [Lolo Creek] & over bad hills & C. about noon we halted to dine [where we had dined] 12<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> last Shields killed a deer. we dined and proce<sup>d</sup> on took the meat of a deer which the hunters had killed. Shields killed another deer. proce<sup>d</sup> on to the bottoms or plains of travvellers rest creek Drewyer had killed three deer, we wrode fast untill about Sunset at which time we arived at travvellers rest where we Camped the 9<sup>th</sup> & 10<sup>th</sup> of Sep<sup>t</sup> last. we Camped here<sup>1</sup> in order to Stay 2 or 3 days to refresh our horses and kill Some meat & C. the Musquetoes verry troublesome here.

Tuesday 1<sup>st</sup> July 1806. cloudy. all the hunters turned out eairly a hunting they all returned by noon had killed in all twelve deer & Some of them large fat bucks. in the afternoon our officers had a talk with the guides that came over the mountains with us. they told our officers that they wished to live in peace and bury their war Stripes in the ground. one of them gave Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis a good horse.

Wednesday 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1806. a clear pleasant morning. Several men went out a hunting. about 10 A. M. Collins Came in had killed one deer. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis Called for 6 vollunteers to go with him on a route up the River Marreah [Marias River] as he intends going that way.<sup>2</sup> they immediately toured out our

<sup>1</sup> On the south side of Lolo Creek, a short distance above its mouth.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis and Clark had planned to divide the exploring party into several groups in order that more might be accomplished in the way of exploring the country than could be done by a single party. The following summary of their plans is taken from the journal entry of Lewis for July 1, 1806. Lewis himself was to go with a small party, including the "2 Invaleeds" mentioned below, by the most direct route to the Great Falls of the Missouri; while three of his men remained here to prepare carriages and the other necessary equipment for transporting the canoes and baggage around the falls, Lewis with the remainder of the party was to make an exploring excursion up Marias River. Clark was to conduct the remainder of the party to the head of Jefferson River, where the canoes had been left the preceding autumn. With these Sergeant Ordway and nine men were to descend the river and join the men left by Lewis at the falls of the Missouri. Clark himself with the ten men remaining was to cross from Three Forks to the nearest point on the Yellowstone; from here Sergeant Pryor and two men were to conduct the horses by land to the Mandan, and thence to the British post on the Assiniboine with a letter to Henry, the trader, while Clark, York, Charbonneau, Sacajawea and her child, and five of the men were to descend the Yellowstone in a canoe. At its mouth they

guides wished to leave us here but Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis prevailed with them to go 2 days march with him and put him on the road to the falls of the Missouri then they intend to return to their nation. 2 Invalleeds is going to the falls to Stay their untill the party comes down with the canoes, and one man to make geers for the 4 horses which is to be left their to draw the canoes past the portage.

Thursday 3<sup>rd</sup> 1806, July. we got up our horses and boath parties Set out about one time. Cap<sup>ts</sup> Lewis & Clark parted here with their parties & procee<sup>d</sup> on I with Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark up the flat head River.<sup>1</sup> we kept up the west side as it is too high at this time to cross. we are now on our way to the head of the Missouri. we wrode fast & crossed a number of large creeks in which is beaver dams & C. about noon we halted to dine at a branch and bottom of fine feed white clover & C. proceeded on the plains partly cov<sup>d</sup> with pitch pine timber. Saw a number of deer. in the evening we Camped at a bottom<sup>2</sup> having made 35 miles in 10 hours this day. one of the hunters killed a deer this evening.

Friday 4<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a fair morning. 2 of our hunters went on eairly a head. we took an eairly breakfast, and procee<sup>d</sup> on through a large plain & groves of pitch pine where the hunters had killed 2 deer we took the meat and procee<sup>d</sup> on crossed Several creeks one so large it Swam Some of our horses. about 12 we Saw a large flock of Mount<sup>n</sup> Sheep or big horn animels. they run so near us that Some of the men fired at them. Shortly after we halted at a branch to dine. dined and proceeded on without finding the road, as we cannot ford the river yet. towards evening one of the hunters killed a deer. Soon after we Camped near the forks of the creek.<sup>3</sup> one of the hunters killed a fat buck this evening.

were to await the arrival of Captain Lewis, who was to be joined at the mouth of Marias River by Ordway's party and the men left by Lewis at the falls. The plans thus outlined were carried out, in the main, but the following important modifications occurred. Lewis' projected exploration of Marias River was curtailed, partly because he found that stream did not extend as far to the northward as he had supposed, partly because hostile Indians compelled him to beat a retreat to the Missouri; Clark with his detachment descended the Jefferson with Ordway's party before crossing over the Yellowstone; and the plan for Pryor's party was defeated through the theft by the Crow Indians of all his horses.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Bitter Root River; in the journals it is more frequently called Clark's River.

<sup>2</sup> "In the vicinity of Corvallis but on the other side of the river." Coues.

<sup>3</sup> The camp was at the junction of West or Nez Perce Fork with East or Ross Fork of the Bitter Root.



Saturday 5<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a fair M. we took breakfast as usual and Set out to cross the right [Nez Perce] fork of the river which we found nearly Swimming. proceed<sup>d</sup> on up the river Some distance cross<sup>d</sup> the other fork. the hunters killed a deer and a Mountain Sheep or big horn animal. about noon we halted in a bottom to dine. Shannon left his tomahawk back where he killed the deer & went back for it. we delayed about 3 hours and proceed<sup>d</sup> on over the hills towards evening we came to the Smooth plains where we saw the 1<sup>st</sup> flat heads or Tus e paw last year as we pass<sup>d</sup> down. we Camped on the branch & plain<sup>1</sup> the hunters killed two deer. Shannon joined us with his tomahawk & C.

Sunday 6<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a fair morning. we were detained a while hunting up our horses. then proceed<sup>d</sup> on as usual up the branch to the mount<sup>n</sup> and crossed over to the left in an Indian trail. at about 5 or 6 miles we got over on a branch running South<sup>2</sup> Shields killed a hair of a different description of any we have seen before. our Interpreters wife tells us that she knows the country & that this branch is the head waters of Jeffersons river, & C. we proceeded on down the branch. large glades covered with Commass & fine grass about noon we halted at one of the glades to dine and proceeded on down the creek late in the afternoon we came to a large extensive plain continue<sup>d</sup> our course about south in this plain got 5 or 6 miles out in the open plain came up a hard Thunder Shower of hail rain and hard wind. we halted a short time in the midst of it then proceed<sup>d</sup> on at dark we Camp<sup>d</sup> at a branch<sup>3</sup> Saw Ind<sup>n</sup> signs abundance of Commass on this branch.

Monday 7<sup>th</sup> July 1806. we went out in the plain early to look up our horses. found all except nine hunted in all directions for them could not find them. So Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark directed me to

<sup>1</sup> "at the mouth of Camp Creek in the vicinity of town of Sula." Coues. In this vicinity the explorers had camped from Sept. 4-6, 1805.

<sup>2</sup> The party had ascended Camp Creek several miles and then crossed the continental divide to one of the sources of Wisdom or Big Hole River. This passage of the Rockies is commonly known as Gibbons Pass, so named in honor of Gen. John Gibbon. Wheeler gives (II, 318-19) an interesting recent account of the appearance of the country in the vicinity of today's travel.

<sup>3</sup> The camp was "not far south from the spot where, on August 9, 1877, General Gibbon and Chief Joseph fought the battle of the Big Hole during the Nez Percé war." Wheeler. In coming to the battle ground General Gibbon followed practically the same route across the mountains and down the branch of Wisdom River that Clark's party had pursued seventy-one years before.

stay with 4 men to hunt this day for them. about 9 Am Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and the rest of the party set out to go to canoe deposite.<sup>1</sup> I and the 4 men went out in different directions to look for the 9 horses I and Labuiche went up a valley which led in the mount<sup>n</sup> towards the ShoShones nation. got on the track of the horses and followed it on untill towards evening and found them still going on an Ind<sup>n</sup> road. we turned them back to the last nights Camp. the other 3 men had got back their also. we hobbled the horses and Camped here. had several Showers of rain & Thunder in the course of this afternoon.

Tuesday 8<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a clear cold morning & hard frost. we set out earily with our horses and procee<sup>d</sup> on over this large extensive plains. crossed Several large creeks Saw elk & deers, and goats or antelopes. our course ab<sup>t</sup> South Struck the trail of the party at about 12 miles we come to a boiling hot Spring at the edge of this plains which is large and handsom we halted a few minutes at this Spring found a peace of vinison in it well boiled which we expect the party left for us. we eat it. I drank Some of the water found it well tasted. but so hot that I cannot hold my hand in [it] a Second of time. it fairly boils out of the ground in Sundry places &C. we proceeded on cross<sup>d</sup> a creek near s<sup>d</sup> Springs and kept our course ab<sup>t</sup> South up a creek on which saw many beaver dams &C. about noon we dined at the head of the creek near the dividing ridge. then cross<sup>d</sup> the ridge about one mile and came on a creek<sup>2</sup> running South, which we expect is a branch of jeffersons river followed down it 10 or 12 m<sup>ls</sup> and crossed an other ridge and came in the valley & on the east fork<sup>3</sup> of jeffersons river. followed down on the trail of the party a short distance and Camped at dark on the branch of the creek. hobbled the unruley horses and lay down to Sleep fatigued rideing upwards of 40 miles this day. and nothing to eat this evening but the head of a goat or antelope which the party had dropped on the road.

<sup>1</sup> The junction of Horse Prairie Creek with Beaver Head River, where the canoes had been left on Aug. 17, 1805. To reach the latter point the party journeyed to Wisdom River and then up this stream to the western slope of Bald Mountain. In this vicinity they crossed the divide to the headwaters of Grasshopper Creek and followed down that stream to the site of the town of Bannack. Here they veered to the south in the direction of their destination, the mouth of Horse Prairie Creek.

<sup>2</sup> Grasshopper Creek.

<sup>3</sup> Horse Prairie Creek, to the mouth of which they are to descend the following forenoon.

Wednesday 9<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a fair morning. three of the men went on at light a head to hunt I and the other man took on the the horses about 4 miles overtook the hunters who had kill<sup>d</sup> a deer. we halted and roasted a quarter of it and the Intrals which we eat and proceeded on down the river about noon we arived at the canoe deposite joined the party who arived here last evening and opened our carsh found every thing in it Safe. they had killed a deer and one antelope. they raised the canoes to day found some tin and nails had been taken off[f] them by the Savages we halled them out to Sun them we repaired our canoes &C. the party aranged to go with Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark to the River Roshjone [Yellowstone] and also to go down with the canoes. I go down with 9 more to take the canoes to the falls of the Mis-sourie then to the forks of Marriah where I expect to join Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & his party.

## CHAPTER XV

### DESCENDING THE MISSOURI, JULY 10—SEPTEMBER 23, 1806

Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a Severe hard frost & Ice. chilley and cold this morning. one canoe which we thot of no account cut up for paddles and fire wood. then put the 6 canoes in the water, and put our baggage in them. at the same time Cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks party got up their horses and packed up took breakfast and all set out by land & water about one time. I proceeded on by water. the party by land holds way with us. we came fast with the canoes too. Collins killed a goose about noon we halted to dine at the Same place as they hold way with us. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and several of his party came in the canoes as it would be easier for the horses untill we git to the 3 forks of the Missourie where they are to part from us. the rest of Cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks party took on the horses & C. we proceeded on verry well & fast. in the evening we Camped near the 3000 mile Island, having made 97 miles this day by water.<sup>1</sup> Saw considerable of Small game and a great plenty of beaver Sign.

Friday 11<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a fair morning. we took breakfast eairly and Set off proceeded on the wind hard a<sup>s</sup>head which is unfavourable to us. in the evening we arived at the mouth of Wisdom [Big Hole] River. Camped<sup>2</sup> where we left the Small canoe last year. wisdom river is verry high at this time 2 hunters went out. Collins killed 2 deer and Gibson killed a fat buck this evening the beaver Sign and lodges without number all this day. they are plantier in this valley than I have seen on the route & C.

Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a clear morning. the canoe we left here last year we Split up this morning for paddles, & C. Set out as usual and proce<sup>d</sup> on down the river fast the canoe Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark

<sup>1</sup> An agreeable contrast to the painful ascent of the summer before. Three Thousand Mile Island is no longer in existence. Its site, about midway between the Beaver Head and the town of Dillon, had been passed on Aug. 11, 1805.

<sup>2</sup> On the old camping ground of Aug. 6, 1805.

was in got drove to shore by the wind under some tops of trees and was near being filled with water. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark fired 2 guns as a signal for help I and the other canoes which was a head halted and went to their assistance they soon got him safe off about 2 P. M. we halted to dine at the mouth of R. Fields Creek the hunters killed one deer and one beaver. we dined and proceeded on down the little gape of the mou<sup>nt</sup> and Camped<sup>1</sup> about Sunset Collins killed two beaver this evening.

Sunday 13<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a clear morning. the canoe & 2 men went on a head. we set out as usual and proceeded on down pass<sup>d</sup> large timbered bottoms about 12 o'clock we arrived at our last years Camp on 27 & 28 July little above the 3 forks joined the rest of the party with the horses and had got here only one hour before us. they had killed a deer and one antelope and had wounded a white bear. we all proceeded to the 3 forks of Missourie crossed the men & baggage and Swam the horses to all to the South Side of Gallatin [Gallatin] River where we dined below the forks the canoe that was a hunting came up they had killed two deer. we delayed about 2 hours Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & party leaves us here to cross over to the River Roshjone.<sup>2</sup> So we parted I and 9 more proceeded on down the river with the canoes very well. the wind a head so we halted little before night. Collins killed 2 large fat bucks and P. Cruzatte killed a deer & Colter killed a large beaver & good fur though the season is over for them to have good fur in the Southern parts. the Musketoes more troublesome than ever we have seen them before. the hunters saw large gangs of Elk in this valley.

Monday 14<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a fair morning. we took an early breakfast and proceeded on down the river. the wind rose hard a head Colter killed 2 young beaver about noon we halted the wind rose so high that we were unable to proceed. so two hunters went out a hunting in the evening as the wind fell we moved down the R. to a bottom and Camped. Willard killed one deer. Saw Ind<sup>ian</sup> Sign Collins did not join us this evening. saw buffalo Sign & C.

<sup>1</sup> A little below the camp of July 31, 1805.

<sup>2</sup> The route Clark followed from Three Forks to the Yellowstone was approximately that of the Northern Pacific Railway from Gallatin past Bozeman to Livingston, Mont. Ordway's journal from this time until he joins Gass and the other men left by Lewis at the camp above Great Falls affords our only record of this portion of the expedition.

Tuesday 15<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a fair morning. we set out at light and proceed<sup>d</sup> on verry well overtook Collins who had killed three deer about 9 A.M. we halted for breakfast & Collins killed a fat buck & P. Cruzatte killed a goat or antelope. we proceed<sup>d</sup> on verry well the currents are common & ripe. Colter killed a panther a deer and a rattle Snake. in the evening we Camped in the mountains. Collins killed 4 Elk. the Musquetoes verry troublesom in deed.

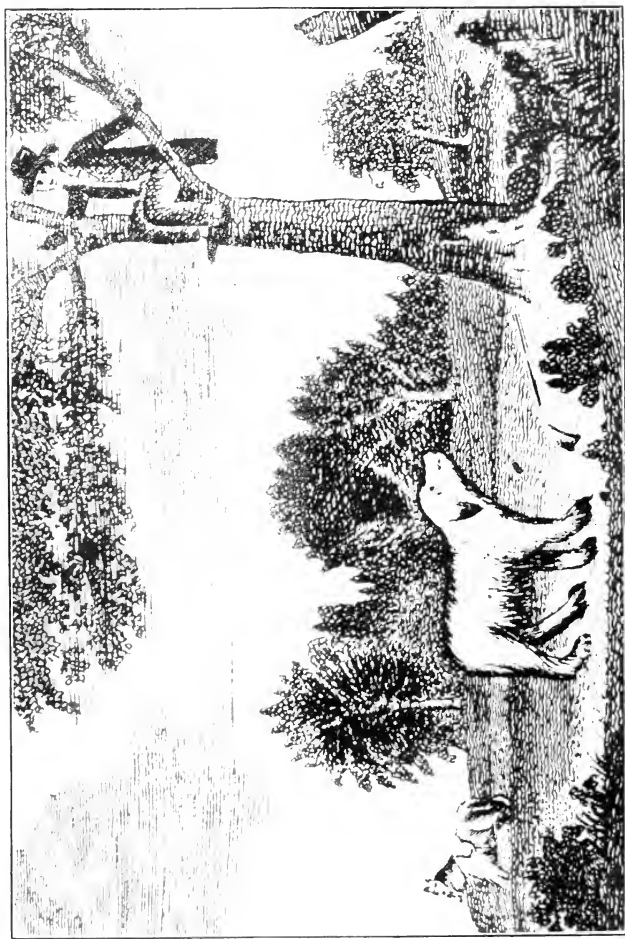
Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a fair morning. we took an eairly breakfast and proceeded on verry well. the wind rose a head and blew so high about noon that [it] obledged us to lay too near the gates of the rocky Mountains Collins killed a large beaver we gathered a little pitch for our canoes &c about 3 P.M. the wind abated a little and we proceed<sup>d</sup> on thro the gates of the m<sup>n</sup> Saw large gangs of Mountain Sheep and Elk Collins killed faun Elk and two Mountain Sheep. we proceeded on below ordways river and Camped on a Sand beach. Same Side.

Thursday 17<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a clear morning. we took an eairly breakfast and proceeded on Collins and Colter skinned the 2 Moun<sup>tn</sup> Sheep Saved the Skin and bones for our officers to take to the States. the wind rose So high that Some of the canoes were near being filled. about noon we arived at the head of the pine Islands & rapids & halted at the creek above as the wind [was] too high to pass these rapids with Safety. Cruzatte killed 2 big horn animels and Colter killed a deer. towards evening the wind abated a little So we passed down the rapids with Safety. at the foot of the rocky mountains large gangs of the Ibex or big horn ana<sup>m</sup> Seen along the edges of s<sup>d</sup> Mount<sup>ns</sup> Camped about 6 miles below s<sup>d</sup> rapids<sup>1</sup> at a bottom in groves of cotten timber.

Friday 18<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a clear cool windy morning. we set off as usal and proceeded on down the gentle current Saw large gangues of buffaloe out in the plains about noon Collins killed three deer. Saw great numbers of beaver and otter &C. towards evening we passed the mouth of Smiths River a short distance below Some of the hunters went out after some gangues of buffaloe and we Camped it being late the hunters did not kill any this evening but Saw great numbers in the plains. the Musquetoes and Small flies are verry troublesome. my face and

<sup>1</sup> "Pine Rapids" of Ordway is modern Halfbreed Rapids, a short distance above the town of Hardy. Today's camp was in the immediate vicinity of that of July 16, 1805.





"AN AMERICAN, HAVING STRUCK A BEAR BUT NOT KILLED HIM, ESCAPES INTO A TREE."

From the Philadelphia, 1811, reprint of Gass's journal



eyes are Swelled by the poison of those insects which bite verry severe indeed.

Saturday 19<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a clear & pleasant morning. two hunters went on Shore to go across a bend after the buffaloe & we proceeded on with the canoes round s<sup>d</sup> bend. about 11 A.M. the hunters killed 4 buffaloe and a buck deer. we halted and took the best of the meat or fat and procee<sup>d</sup> on about 3 P.M. we arived at the white bear Camp at the head of the portage. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass and five more of the party were Camped here. they informed us that they had a fine road over.<sup>1</sup> they followed up the Tus-e-paw or buffaloe river<sup>2</sup> a Smooth road, then crossed a low dividing ridge came on Smooth plains. the blanket Mountains to the left. they had a large road. a band of Indians had went before them. Saw one of their Sulp poles & C. they Struck the Meddison river above its forks and followed on down it about 3 days travvel to this place. considerable of cotten timber on its bottoms. the plain Smooth Soil indifferent except Some of the river bottoms are rich & good land. they arived here on the 11<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> they had killed a number of fat buffaloe and fat buck deers. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis and party lost 7 fine horses at this place. they expect they were stole by the war parties they hunted for them untill the 16<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> then gave them out for lost, and then he set out for to go up morriahs river Drewyer J<sup>o</sup> & R. Fields only with him as he left 4 horses to hale the canoes past the portage. he had not horses enofe to take any more men with him. they had opened the cash or hole at this place & found Several Small articles Spoiled and opened the one below the portage and found every thing Safe except some of the mens robes. they have geers fixed for the horses. M<sup>c</sup>neal was attacked by a white bear. his horse threw him So near the bear that he had not time to shoote but drew his gun and Struck the bear across the head and broke off the brich of his gun and Stoded<sup>3</sup> the bear So that he had time to

<sup>1</sup> From the place at the mouth of Lolo Creek whence the parties of Lewis and Clark had set out in opposite directions on July 3, Lewis down the Bitter Root River, and Clark up that stream.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Big Blackfoot River, a tributary of Hell Gate River, which Lewis had first ascended to the mouth of the Big Blackfoot. From its upper course the party crossed the mountains by the misnamed Lewis and Clark Pass to one of the head streams of Dearborn River. Instead of following the trail down this river, however, Lewis turned directly north to Medicine, or modern Sun River, and descended its valley to Great Falls.

<sup>3</sup> Whether the grizzly was "stunned" or "astounded" by such treatment is perhaps a fair question. Whichever it was, he was felled to the ground,

climb a Sapling the bear kept him on the tree about 3 hours. then the bear left him he caught his horse and return<sup>d</sup> to Camp. we took our baggage out of the canoes and halled them out to dry &C. the Musquetoes verry troublesome indeed much worse than they were last year.<sup>1</sup>

Sunday 20<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a clear warm morning. we conclude to lay here to day as the truck waggons are not fixed. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass went at putting in the tongues to the waggons. Some of the men are engaged dressing Skins, but we are tormented by the Musquetoes and Small flies. the men engaged dressing deer Skins &C. towards evening we got up our our 4 horses [and] tackled them in the truck waggons found they would draw but were covred thick with Musquetoes and Small flies &C.

Monday 21<sup>st</sup> July 1806. a fair warm morning. the Musquetoes troubled us all last night. one man went out at day light for the horses, but could not find them. then several more men went out and hunted for them all day & could not find any of them we got two canoes started & considerable baggage ourselves & Camped concluded to delay tomorrow for our horses before we give them out [up]. the Musquetoes and Small flies verry troublesome we made fires of buffaloe dry dung to make Smoaks &C.

Tuesday 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1806. a fair morning we rose eairly and turned out in different directions in Search of our 4 horses about noon they were found at the grand falls of Missourie and we tackled up the horses and set out with 2 canoes part of the men not return<sup>d</sup> from hunting the horses. we proce<sup>d</sup> about 5 miles then our extletree broke down and we had to turn back with our truck wheels leaving a man to take care of the baggage &C. we made another extletree and Started with 2 more canoes & Camped Some of the men came in from hunting the horses had killed three buffaloe and one goat or antelope.

Wednesday 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1806. a hard Shower of rain hail and wind last evening we geered up the 4 horses and Set out with 2 canoes one large & one Small one the truck wheels which bore the large canoe broke down often and troubled us much. Wiser cut his leg with a knife So that he is unable to walk & [it] is a bad wound Collins went on to willow Creek to kill Some fresh meat for us.

where he "began to scratch his head with his feet"; after which operation he sat down at the foot of the tree and gave McNeal an anxious afternoon.

<sup>1</sup> The ferocity of the mosquitoes was almost as great as that of the grizzlies. Lewis notes that his dog, Scannon, "even howls with the torture he experiences from them."

with much difficulty we got the 2 canoes & considerable of baggage to willow Creek about Sunset and Camped. Collins had killed three buffaloe. Some of the other hunters killed another fat one this evening.

Thursday 24<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a clear morn<sup>g</sup> we return<sup>d</sup> with the waggons to the head of the portage and took on the other Small canoes we [un]load<sup>d</sup> the other large canoe as our wheels [would] not bear it. took in the Small ones [and] the baggage and proceeded on 8 miles halted to baite our horses. had a hard Shower of rain which rendred the plains verry muddy. we proc<sup>d</sup> to willow Creek & Camp<sup>d</sup> one waggon went with one canoe to the foot of the portage & C.

Friday 25<sup>th</sup> July 1806. we proc<sup>d</sup> on to portage Creek. met the other men returning. we formed a Camp at portage Creek left 2 men one to Cook & one to hunt and return<sup>d</sup> to willow Creek hard rain com<sup>d</sup> about noon and continued the remainder part of the day, but did not Stop us from our urgent labours. halted as much as we were able to help the horses as the place [is] so amazing muddy & bad. in the evening we got to portage Creek and Camped. rained verry hard and we having no Shelter Some of the men and myself turned over a canoe & lay under it others Set up by the fires. the water run under us and the ground was covred with water. the portage River raises fast Collins killed a buffaloe and a brarow [badger].

Saturday 26<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a wet disagreeable morning. an Ind<sup>a</sup> dog came about our Camp we gave him Some meat. the portage river too high to waid but is falling fast. Colter & Potts went at running the canoes down the rapids to the white perogue near the carsh. the rest of us returned to willow Creek took on the other large canoe and halted to asist the horses as the truck wheels Sank in the mud nearly to the hub. Cruzatte killed a buffaloe we took the best of the meat and returned with much hard fatigue to the portage River and got the canoes and all the baggage down to the white perogue and Camped having got the carsh opened and all brought to the white perogue & all Safe & C.

Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> July 1806. a clear morning. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass and Willard Set out with the 4 horses crossed the river to the N. Side to take them down to the Mouth of Morriah [Marias] to back [pack] the meat while we lay their, as we expect to arive their before Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & party. we halled out the white perogue out of the bushes and repaired hir. about 12 we loaded and Set out

with the white perogue and the 5 canoes. proced<sup>d</sup> on down the rapid water fast. Camped on S. Side at large gange of buffaloe the hunters killed in a few minutes 5 buffaloe Some of which was fat. and one deer. And R. Frazer killed one buffaloe with his musquet & C.

Monday 28<sup>th</sup> July 1806. two hunters went on cairly a head. Howard killed two deer. we proceeded on as usual about 9 A. M. we discovred on a high bank a head Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & the three men who went with him on horse back comming towards us on N. Side we came too Shore and fired the Swivell to Salute him & party we Saluted them also with Small arms and were rejoiced to See them & C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis took us all by the hand, and informed us that they had good Sucksess in going to their journeys end and cross<sup>d</sup> a number of branches & forks of Marriohs River and follow<sup>d</sup> up a North fork to Latitude [blank in Ms.]<sup>1</sup> got his observations for the Lat but the cloudy weather prevented him from gitting the Longitude & C. but found it was not much difference from the Mouth of Morriah they then Set off on their return the day before yesterday and met with eight of the Grousevauntares Indians with bows & arrows and 2 guns. they at first appeared afraid but after a little wrode up and Shook hands with Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & party and appeared friendly & they desired Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis to go with them to their Nation which they said was under the blanket Mount<sup>n</sup> Some distance about 2 days march. but Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis told them that he could not wait but desired them to come down to the Mouth of Morriah promising them the horse if they would comply but they were afraid of being killed<sup>d</sup> by us. they had upwards of 20 horses but they were ordinary ones or the most of them. they Camped<sup>2</sup> with Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis & men as they expected they were friends, though Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis had a watch up all night, and at day break yesterday morning the eight Savages Seased all our mens guns and Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewises also. they Instantly Sprung up out of their Sleep and Ruben Fields chased an Indian who Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis had made a chief gave him a meddle last evening

<sup>1</sup> Wheeler (II, 303) locates this point, where Lewis remained encamped three days in the hope of obtaining an observation to determine his position, "on the Cutbank Fork of Marias River, very close to the 113<sup>th</sup> meridian." It was in Teton County, eight or ten miles northwest of Blackfoot, a station on the Great Northern Railway. Because the state of the weather prevented the desired observations Lewis named the place, Camp Disappointment.

<sup>2</sup> The site of this camp, and of the battle of the following morning, was on Two Medicine River about four miles below the mouth of Badger Creek.

& he was running off[f] with R. Fields and his brothers J<sup>p</sup> Fields Guns. Reuben overhalled him [and] caught hold of the 2 guns had his knife drawn & as he Snatched away the guns perced his knife in to the Indians heart he drew but one breath the wind of his breath followed the knife & he fell dead they all Seased their arms from the Indians and took one of the Ind<sup>n</sup> guns and all their bows and arrows and their Shields which they were [wear] on their backs at war. they then went at running after our horses Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis wounded one more badly but the Ind<sup>n</sup> partly raised and fired back at him but missed him. they cleared out with Some of our horses and Some of theirs, though Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis took as many as he wanted of theirs and left the rest & made all haste towards us and had wrode 100 and 20 miles Since yesterday morning, and [was] much fatigued and turned out the horses in the plain & threw the Saddles in the River & came on board the canoes. then we proce<sup>d</sup> on with as much Speed as possable. Soon overtook the 2 hunters who had killed Several Elk a buffaloe & one beaver. we now keep to gether and are concerned about Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass & willard who went down by land. about 1 P. M. we arived at the forks of Morriah opened the carshes found all except 4 Steel traps which were put in a carsh by themselves & we could not find the place. Some beaver skin and Robes &c. Spoiled. the other articles all Safe and dry &c. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass and willard joined us with the horses. we left the horses here crossed to the N. Side found the red perogue Safe but too Rotten to take down. So we took some of the nailes out of hir and Set out. Serg<sup>t</sup> Gass & Willard had killed Several buffaloe and 7 antelopes as they came down from the falls by land. we Soon had a hard Shower of rain & large hail. Some larger than a musket Ball Thunder and high winds a head but we proce<sup>d</sup> on untill evening and Camped on South Side<sup>1</sup> and kept a Strict guard. Collins killed a buffaloe. we got the best of the meat of it. late in the evening we had a Shower of rain which lasted about a hour.

Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup> July 1806. cloudy and rain we set out as usual and proceeded on fast Saw large gangs of buffal<sup>s</sup> and Elk. R. Frazer killed an Elk. we took the hide and Some of the meat about 11 A. M. we entered the high clay broken country white clay hills and the the white walls resembling ancient towns & buildings &c. Saw a flock of big horn or Ibex on the top of those walls. we halted and the 2 Fields killed two large Rams which

<sup>1</sup> About fifteen miles, according to Lewis, below the mouth of Marias River.

had large horns. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis had them Scallintinized [skeletonized] and all the bones & horns as well as the Skin [preserved] to take to the Seat of government. we dined and proc<sup>d</sup> on passing the white pleasant walls and Stone wall Creek and on our way this after noon we killed Seven more Ibex along these clay & Stone hills and knobs, where these animals live generally. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis had two of the femail Scallintineized also. we had a Shower of rain. Saw buffalo & C. & C.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> July 1806. cloudy and wet. we set out eairly and proceeded on verry well our hunters killed 2 buffalo I and willard killed a white bear. Some of the hunters killed 4 Ibex and 2 beavers. rained all day. Camped on an Island.

Thursday 31<sup>st</sup> July 1806. cloudy and rain. we set out as usal and proc<sup>d</sup> on verry well at 9 Saw large gangs of Elk Swimming the River we killed 15 of them nearly for the hides to cover our canoes. J<sup>o</sup> Fields killed one Ibex the hunters killed 14 deer and one beaver this day. had Several Showers of rain. the River verry muddy owing to the heavy rains washing those clayey hills came a long days roeing and Camped<sup>2</sup> at some old Ind<sup>n</sup> lodges on N. Side.

Friday August 1<sup>st</sup> 1806. hard rain we Set out early and proc<sup>d</sup> on about 9 A M a Brown bear [was seen swimming the river] and Drewyer and Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis killed it we took it on board and proc<sup>d</sup> on Colter killed a beaver Shortly after about noon about noon we killed a buck Elk Saved the hide and the best of the meat. about 2 P. M. we halted at Some old Ind<sup>n</sup> lodges on S. Side. here we delay<sup>d</sup> this afternoon<sup>3</sup> to dry our deer Skins Mount<sup>n</sup> Sheep Skins & C. which were near Spoiling as the weather has been Some time wet. about 3 P. M. a large white bear approached our Camp as Soon as he discovred us Stood up on his hind feed and looked at us. Some of the hunters Shot him down, for the Skin & oil. the other hunters kill<sup>d</sup> four deer and a beaver this afternoon.

<sup>1</sup> Today's camp was on the site of that of fourteen months earlier, May 29, 1805. It was at the mouth of Arrow River, on the boundary between Chouteau and Fergus counties.

<sup>2</sup> Eight miles below the mouth of North Mountain (modern Rocky) Creek. Lewis.

<sup>3</sup> This camp was in Dawson County about fifteen miles below the mouth of Musselshell River.

Saturday 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1806. a fair morning. the two Fields Sent on a head to hunt. we delayed to dry our baggage. the day warm. Some of the men dressed deer Skins, &C.

Sunday 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1806. a fair morning. we loaded the canoes and proc<sup>d</sup> on Soon came to the Camp of the two Fields they had killed 24 deer. we proc<sup>d</sup> on verry verry well Saw Saw buffaloe in a bundance<sup>1</sup> and Some white bear. we Camped on N. S.<sup>2</sup> having made 73 miles this day.

Monday 4<sup>th</sup> August 1806. two of the hunters Colter and Collins did not join us last night. I and willard went on eairly with a Small canoe to hunt we proc<sup>d</sup> on Some distance and hunted in Some of the bottoms and killed a deer and proc<sup>d</sup> on towards evening we killed a large white or grizzly bear nearly of a Silver Grey. we then proc<sup>d</sup> on in the evening by moon light as the party was a head about 11 oClock at night we found ourselves in a thick place of Sawyers as the corrent drawed us in and we had no chance to git out of them So we run about half way through and the Stern run under a limb of a tree and caught willard who was in the Stern and drew him out as the current was verry rapid. he held by the limb I being in the bow of the canoe took my oar and halled the bow first one way and the other So as to clear the Sawyers and run through Safe and paddled the canoe to Shore and ran up the Shore opposite willard & he called to me if everyy thing was Safe I told him yes but he could not hear me as the water roared past the Sawyers. he told me he had made a little raft of 2 Small Sticks he caught floating and tyed them together, and tyed his cloathes on them and would Swim down through this difficult place and I run down and took out the canoe and took him in as he Swam through Safe we proc<sup>d</sup> a Short distance farther and came to the Camp of the party.<sup>3</sup> they had killed a rattle Snake and an Elk to day but the two hunters Colter & Colling has not joined us yet.

Tuesday 5<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a fair morning. we delayed here for Colter and Collins the 2 Fields Sent on a head to hunt. we wait-

<sup>1</sup> Both Lewis and Gass, on the contrary, say but few buffalo were seen this day.

<sup>2</sup> Two miles above the site of the camp of May 12, 1805. The camp was in Valley County, approximately midway between the mouths of Musselshell River and Big Dry Creek.

<sup>3</sup> The party had passed during the day the mouths of Big Dry Creek and Milk River, and encamped about fifteen miles below the mouth of the latter stream.

ed untill 12 oClock and as we are not certain but what Colter and Collins is a head So we Set out and proc<sup>d</sup> on Saw large gangs of buffaloe we killed a fat cow and took the best of the meat and proc<sup>d</sup> on untill evening and Camped on a high sand beach a little after dark came up a hard Thunder Shower of wind and rain and nearly filled our canoes, So that we had to unload them. the Sand flew So that we could Scarsely see & cut our faces by the force of the wind.

Wednesday 6<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a fair morning. we loaded up our canoes and Set out as usal and proc<sup>d</sup> on about 10 A. M. pass<sup>d</sup> the m<sup>o</sup> of 2000 mile Creek.<sup>1</sup> the wind rose high So [we] halted. the hunters went out and killed Several deer. we delayed about 3 hours then proceeded on in the evening we Camped<sup>2</sup> at a large bottom S. Side a fat Elk kill<sup>d</sup> and 2 fat buffaloe we took Some of the fattest of the meat. the buffaloe Elk and all kinds of game are pleanty and verry tame & C. & C.

Thursday 7<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a Showery wet morning. we Set out as usal and proc<sup>d</sup> on verry well. overtook the 2 Fields who had killed two large Silver grey bears. we roed on fast about 4 P. M. we arived at the mouth of the River Roshjone where we expected to have found Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and party but found they had been here Some time [ago] and left a a line that we would find them lower down<sup>3</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis wrote a line and left for Colter and Collins who we have reason to think is behind, directing them to follow on after us, and we proc<sup>d</sup> on Saw Some Camps which appeared fresh 1 of which had fire at it and dry meat hanging up. we proc<sup>d</sup> on untill dark and as we were Camping<sup>4</sup> killed a buffaloe out of a gang on the bank. the wind high this evening.

Friday 8<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a fair morn<sup>g</sup> we Set out as usal and proc<sup>d</sup> on verry well untill 10 A. M. then not overtaking Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark & party Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis concluded to halt and dry our baggage dress Some Skins as the party is nearly naked and repair the canoes. So we Camped<sup>5</sup> at a bottom on N. Side drew out the

<sup>1</sup> Modern Red Water Creek, in Dawson County.

<sup>2</sup> Ten miles below the camp of May 1, 1805. Lewis.

<sup>3</sup> Clark had reached the mouth of the Yellowstone August 3, and encamped with the intention of awaiting the arrival of Lewis. The ferocity of the mosquitoes was such, however, that the camp became uninhabitable, and so was abandoned the following day.

<sup>4</sup> The camp was "in the next bottom above our encampment of the 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1805." Lewis.

<sup>5</sup> About eight miles by water and three by land, according to Lewis, above



white perogue after unloading and my canoe as they leaked the musketoes troublesome at this Camp. Drewyer killed two deer.

Saturday 9<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a fair morning. we continued on dressing our deer Skins the 2 fields went across the river a hunting returnd towards evening had killed 1 Elk and one deer. all hands employed makeing themselves comfortable.

Sunday 10<sup>th</sup> August, 1806. a cool windy morning we went at repairing the white perogue and continued dressing our deer Skins and Smoaking them. about three P. M. we put the canoes in the river, and loaded up and about 4 we Set out and proce<sup>d</sup> on down untill dark and Camped on S<sup>t</sup> Side<sup>1</sup> and the musketoes verry troublesome indeed. we could not all this night git a moment quiet rest for them.

Monday 11<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a fair morning we Set out as usual and proce<sup>d</sup> on verry well we killed a buffaloe in the river. about 12 oClock Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis halted at a bottom on S. Side to kill Some Elk Peter Cruzatte a frenchman went out with Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis they Soon found a gangue of Elk in a thicket. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis killed one and cruzatte killed two, and as he still kept firing one of his balls hit Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis in his back side and the ball passed through one Side of his buttock and the ball went out of the other Side of the other buttock and lodged at his overalls which wounded him bad. he instantly called to peter but Peter not answering he Suppos<sup>d</sup> it to be Indians and run to the canoes and ordered the men to their armes. they were in readiness in a moment and Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis attemp<sup>d</sup> to go back for battle but being faint the men persuaded him not to go himself but the party run out found Cruzatte and he had Seen no Indians then peter knew that it must have been him tho an exidant.<sup>2</sup> we dressed the wound [and] prepared a place for him to lay in the white perogue J<sup>o</sup> Fields killed one Elk. we then took the best of the meat on board and proce<sup>d</sup> on about 4 P.M. we pass<sup>d</sup> a Camp of Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark where we found a note or line informing us that Serg<sup>t</sup> Pryor & party had joined them here as the Indians had Stole all the horses & they came the mouth of White Earth River. The White Earth is modern Little Muddy River, in Williams County, N. Dak.

<sup>1</sup> In McKenzie County, N. Dak., just above the mouth of Little Muddy River.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis was convinced that Cruzatte was immediately aware of having shot him, and that he only pretended to have been ignorant of it. Both Gass and Ordway appear to credit Cruzatte with entire ignorance of what he had done. There are other interesting minor differences between the three narratives of the accident.

down in leather canoes. they had left here to day day. we proc<sup>d</sup> on untill about Sunset and Camped on a Sand beach on L<sup>d</sup> Side high winds.

Tuesday 12<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a fair morning. we Set out eairly and proc<sup>d</sup> on about 8 A. M. we met two trappers Americans by the names of Jo<sup>s</sup> Dixon & forrest Hancock<sup>1</sup> they were from the Ellynoise country, and have gathered a great deal of peltry Since they have been out about 2 years and have carshed the most of it in the ground they tells us that they are determined to Stay up this river and go to the head where the beaver is pleanty and trap and hunt untill they make a fortune before they return. they had 20 odd good traps and tools for building canoes &C. they informed us that Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark passed here about 12 oClock yesterday and Said that they would go on Slowly untill we come up. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis gave them Some powder and several articles while we were here Colter and Collins come up and joined us. they informed us that they had waited expected we were behind they had killed 6 buffaloe 13 deer 5 Elk & 31 beaver. M<sup>r</sup> Dixon concludes to go back to the Mandans in hopes to git a frenchman or Some body to go with him to the head of the river. So we proc<sup>d</sup> on about 10 A. M. we overtook Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark and party all alive and well they informed us that they after they left us at the three forks followed on up the South fork or Gallentines River nearly to its head which was about 30 miles, and that the beavers abound on that river that their dams overflowed the bottoms So that they had difficulty to cross the river they then struck for the River Roshjone leaving the Mount<sup>n</sup> a Short distance to the right cross<sup>d</sup> over a low ridge 10 miles then come on the head waters of the roshjone [and] followed down Some distance before they found any timber that they could make canoes of. they Saw no Indians but Saw Ind<sup>n</sup> tracks and the Ind<sup>n</sup> Stole 25 of the horses they having the two Small canoes done lashed them and Serg<sup>t</sup> pryor Set out with 3 men and the rest of the horses by land in order to take them to the Mandans 25 in number which now remained, but the 2<sup>nd</sup> night the Ind<sup>n</sup> Stole all the horses and they

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Dickson and Forest Hancock were the first white men encountered by the explorers since leaving Fort Mandan in the spring of 1805. Dickson was a Pennsylvanian who had migrated to the Illinois country in 1802. A son born to him in January, 1805, a fact concerning which the father was doubtless still in ignorance, became a pioneer settler of the Wisconsin lead-mining region, and commanded a company of scouts in the Black Hawk War. For his reminiscences see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, V, 315-17.

had to return to the Roshjone and kill<sup>d</sup> buffaloe and made leather canoes of them and followed on down they informed us that the distance from where they Struck the River Roshjone to its mouth is 836 miles and a pleasant river bottoms and timber on this river the buffaloe So plenty and Swiming the river So that they could Scarsely pass down this river mount<sup>a</sup> Sheep also in many places we fired the blunderbusses and Small arms being rejoiced to meet all together again. 2 of Cap<sup>t</sup> Clarks party were a hunting and killed a Spotted Elk had white spots about it and different from any we have ever Seen before. we left their buffaloe canoes and after a delay of three hours we proc<sup>d</sup> on M<sup>r</sup> Dixon and Handcock accomp<sup>y</sup> us to the Mandans. we Camped on a Sand beach<sup>1</sup> on acc<sup>t</sup> of the Musquetoos a little rain this evening &C.

Wednesday 13<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a fair morning. we Set out eairly and proc<sup>d</sup> on verry well a fair breeze from the N.W. came a long distance this day and Camped on the N. Side.<sup>2</sup>

Thursday 14<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a fair morning we Set out eairly and proc<sup>d</sup> on about 9 A. M. we arived at our old neighbours the Grousevauntars and Mandans. we Saluted them by firing our Swivvel and blunderbusses a number of times they answered us with a blunderbuss and Small arms and were verry glad to see us we halted a Short time at the Grousevauntars village then mooved down convenient to both the Grousevauntars and Mandans and Camp<sup>d</sup> in order to Stay 2 or 3 days to try to git Some of these chiefs to go down with us to Show them the power of the united States &C. they gave us corn & beans &C. &C. Cap<sup>t</sup> Lewis fainted as Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark was dressing his wound, but Soon came too again.

Friday 15<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a clear pleasant morning. Some of the party went at dressing themselves deer Skins &C. the natives brought us corn and beans &C. they brought us a breakfast of boild siniblins & beans &C. the 2 village of Mandans gave us Considerable of corn and more than we would take away. Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark went over and tryed to perswade Some of the chief of that village to go down with us but they could not find any one willing to go with us. the chiefs of the 1<sup>st</sup> village wished us to

<sup>1</sup> "a little below the enterance of Shabonos Creek." Clark.

<sup>2</sup> The camp was "at the entrance of Myry river." Clark. Ordway's "long distance" is estimated by Clark at eighty-six miles. The M. R. C. map agrees closely with Clark's statement, showing the length of the day's journey as a little over eighty miles.

Stay 1 or 2 days longer with them we gave the Swivvel to the Big Belleys or Grousevauntars.<sup>1</sup>

Saturday 16<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a clear cool morning. great numbers of the natives visited us and traded us good robes and mockasons. towards evening the Big White a head chief of the 1<sup>st</sup> village of Mandans concluded to go down with us and M<sup>r</sup> Jessom and their wives and three children M<sup>r</sup> Jessom two and the Big White and one very handsom children one of M<sup>r</sup> Jessoms has had a little Scooling at the N. W. Company.

Sunday 17<sup>th</sup> August 1806. John Colter one of our party asks leave of our officers to go back with M<sup>r</sup> Dixon a trapping, which permission was granted him so our officers Settled with him and fitted him out with powder lead and a great number of articles which compleated him for a trapping voiage of two years which they are determined to Stay untill they make a fortune, &C. &C. we lashed together Some of our canoes and Colter M<sup>r</sup> Dixon & Handcock parted with us in their Small canoe<sup>2</sup> the natives visits us in great numbers. about 4 oC. P. M. dropped down to the 1<sup>st</sup> village of Mandans where we took on board M<sup>r</sup> Jessom his

<sup>1</sup> The swivel was presented with "a good deel of ceremony" to Le Borgne, or the One Eyed with a view to attaching him more strongly to the United States government. In presenting the gun Clark told the chief "to remember," when he fired it, "the words of his great father which we had given him, this gun had announced the words of his great father to all the nations which we had seen."

<sup>2</sup> "The example of this man shows how easily men may<sup>d</sup> be weaned from the habits of civilized life to the ruder but scarcely less fascinating manners of the woods. This hunter has been now absent for many years from the frontiers, and might naturally be presumed to have some anxiety, or some curiosity at least, to return to his friends and his country; yet, just at the moment when he is approaching the frontiers, he is tempted by a hunting scheme to give up those delightful prospects, and go back without the least reluctance to the solitude of the woods." Biddle, III, 1182. Colter remained on the upper Missouri, in the midst of perils and hardships, until the spring of 1810. He was the first white explorer of Yellowstone Park. For an account of his adventurous career see Wheeler, I, 98-105, and Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, II, 713-23.

In addition to Colter the party left behind at the Mandan villages, Charbonneau, Sacajawea, and their baby. The latter, "a butifull promising child" of nineteen months, Clark offered to take and rear. The parents were willing, but the fact that the baby was not yet weaned led to the decision to keep him with his mother for another year, when Charbonneau was to bring him to St. Louis for Clark to rear "in such manner as I thought proper." This arrangement was never carried out, however, and the youthful Charbonneau spent his life among the savages.

his wife and two children the big white the head chief of S<sup>d</sup> village his wife or one of his wives. I understand he has two wives. he has only one child and takes that with him took their baggage on board and the chief putting his arm round all the head mens necks of his nation who Set on Shore and a number crying and appeared Sorry to part with him he took his leave of them however and we Set out and proc<sup>d</sup> on the wind a head Camp<sup>d</sup> on S. S.<sup>1</sup>

Monday 18<sup>th</sup> August 1806. the wind high and a little rain. about 8 A. M. we Set out and proc<sup>d</sup> on about 1 P. M. our hunters killed two deer. the wind continued high towards evening Saw Some buffaloe we Camped below otter Creek<sup>2</sup> N. S. the hunters killed 5 deer.

Tuesday 19<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a Showery morning. Thunder and high wind so it detained us the hunters went out & killed 5 Elk [and] 10 deer about 4 P. M. the wind fell a little and we proc<sup>d</sup> on took on board the best of the meat which was below and Camp<sup>d</sup> at dark<sup>3</sup> windy & cold.

Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> August 1806. we set out eairly and proceeded on verry well the after part of the day of the day pleasant in the evening we Camped<sup>4</sup> on a sand beach the Musquetoes verry troublesome.

Thursday 21<sup>st</sup> August 1806. a fair morning. we set out eairly and proce<sup>d</sup> on soon met three frenchmen one by the name of Revey<sup>5</sup> they have been trapping as high as the river Roshjone

<sup>1</sup> At the site of an old Arikara village, several miles below Fort Mandan. Going ashore to view their habitation of the winter of 1804-5, Clark found that only some pickets and one of the houses in the rear bastion remained standing, the greater portion of the fort having been destroyed by an accidental fire. The site of the fort itself disappeared a few years later, being worn away by the erosion of the river.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Heart River; the camp was near the site where the party had encamped Oct. 20, 1804, a short distance below Bismarek, N. Dak.

<sup>3</sup> Having descended but ten miles below the camp of the day before. This night Clark enjoyed a rare luxury. Through the liberality of Jessaume and the squaws he was provided with a "piece of a lodge," the only covering he had enjoyed, since leaving the Columbia, sufficient to keep off the rain.

<sup>4</sup> "haveing made 81 miles only." Clark. This remark may be taken as an indication of the eagerness of the explorers to be at their journey's end. At noon the party passed the mouth of Cannon Ball River, and at three o'clock that of Big Beaver Creek. The camp was therefore some distance below the latter point.

<sup>5</sup> Revey (Rivet) had been with the expedition during the autumn of 1804

but have made out but poorly and have been living at the Rickarees and are now going to the Mandans for their traps and and then they Say they will return to St Louis. So we proc<sup>d</sup> on about 11 A. M. we arrived at the upper village of Rickarees where we halted after firing our blunderbusses. they gathered on the bank very numerous a party of the Chiens are here trading with these natives for corn give buffalo meat dried meat in return three frenchman are living here & one Spanyard. they informed us that 15 hundred of the Souix nation had gone up to war with the Mandans. our officers gave a principal man of the chien nation a meddle. he gave in return Some fat dried buffalo meat. our officers tried to git Some of these natives to go down with us but they did not incline to go as they Said they had Sent one with M<sup>r</sup> Gravveleen and he had not return<sup>d</sup> this nation of chien or dog Indians live at the heads of chien river towards the black hills. they say they are afraid of the white people and of any thing they have for they think it to be great medicin. Still Say that they have a great deal of fur in their country and have no trade for it &C. in the evening we moved down to the lower village of Rickarees and Camped Ross joined us in order to go down with us. we traded for Robes & Mockasons Some of which was handsome &C.

Friday 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1806. hard Thunder Shower all last night. I Slept in the village. the chiefs Say that they are all afraid to go down with us. About 10 A. M. cleared off fair and we Set out and proc<sup>d</sup> on a few miles and halted to dry dry our baggage and bedding &C. we delayed about 3 hours and proc<sup>d</sup> on to the foot of prairie Island<sup>1</sup> and Camped on N. Side.

Saturday 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1806. we set out early a little rain & Thunder. Saw a large gang of Elk on S. Side about 11 A. M. the wind rose So high that it detained us about 3 hours our hunters killed three Elk and a deer took the best of the meat and proc<sup>d</sup> on had light Showers of rain all day and Camp<sup>d</sup> on S. Side.

Sunday 24<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a clear pleasant morning. we Set out early and proc<sup>d</sup> on very well about noon the wind rose high from S. W. which detained us about three hours then proc<sup>d</sup> on though the work against us. Camped on N. Side.<sup>2</sup>

and the ensuing winter at Fort Mandan. For information concerning his companions see Thwaites, I, 283, and V, 349-50.

<sup>1</sup> Called Grouse Island by Clark. Here the party had encamped Oct. 7. 1804.

<sup>2</sup> "on the gouge of the lookout bend," according to Clark, four miles above

Monday 25<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a clear pleasant morning. 5 of our hunters sent on a head to hunt to an Isl<sup>d</sup> we proc<sup>d</sup> on about 9 A. M. we we halted at the Mouth of Chyenne river N. Side and our officers conclude to delay untill 12 and take an observation the hunters went out and killed two deer. Set off again at 12 and proc<sup>d</sup> on Soon overtook the other hunters who had killed a fat buck & 2 does. we proc<sup>d</sup> on untill evening and Camped on N. S.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday 26<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a fair morning. we set out as usual and proc<sup>d</sup> on verry well pass<sup>d</sup> the Mouth of Teton River about 9 A. M. proc<sup>d</sup> on verry well without halting to cook this day and Camped at a bluff Some distance below Louisells fort ceeders Island<sup>2</sup> which we pass<sup>d</sup> little before night.

Wednesday 27<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a fair morning. we Set out eairly and proc<sup>d</sup> on a Short distance Saw a number of buffaloe halted about one hour to hunt but killed nothing then proc<sup>d</sup> on on passed the Mouth of Teton river and passing round the grand turn or grand bend we killed an Elk and took on board all the meat in the evening we Camped on a large Island<sup>3</sup> which was cov<sup>d</sup> with thin timber and tall grass where we killed 4 out of a large gang [of buffalo] and Saved the best of the meat. the Musquatoes verry troublesome indeed.

Thursday 28<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a fair morning. we Set out as usual and proc<sup>d</sup> on about 11 oClock A. M. we arived at pleasant Camp where we Camped about 20 of Sep<sup>t</sup> 1804.<sup>4</sup> we Camped here to

the camp of Oct. 1, 1804. Today's camp was in Armstrong County, S. Dak., some fifteen miles above the mouth of Cheyenne River.

<sup>1</sup> Clark says today's camp was "below" the camp of Sept. 29, 1804. The latter was in Stanley County, S. Dak., 3½ miles above Chantier Creek. Today's camp was on the opposite side of the river, in Hughes County, a little below the mouth of Chantier Creek.

<sup>2</sup> The camp was ten miles below the fort, according to Clark, and opposite the encampment of Sept. 21, 1804. The site of the latter was in Lyman County, 4½ miles above the mouth of Medicine Creek.

<sup>3</sup> Having passed around Grand Bend during the day's journey; camp was on "the lower Isl<sup>d</sup> of the Big bend below the Gouge." Clark.

<sup>4</sup> Today's camp was on the site of the encampment of Sept. 16 and 17, 1804, about 3½ miles below the city of Chamberlain. We now learn from all three of the journals still being kept (those of Clark, Gass, and Ordway; the painfulness of his wound had caused Lewis to terminate his journal at the time he rejoined Clark's party, on August 12) that the place had been designated Pleasant Camp by the party. Clark gives the reason—the great abundance of game, "aded to which there was a great abundance of the most delicious plumbs and grapes."

hunt. Several hunters went out. we gathered an emence Site of plumbs which are now ripe and good. Several of the men went at dressing deer and goat skins to make themselves cloaths &C. &C. in the evening our hunters return<sup>d</sup> had killed 2 buffaloe three deer one porcupine and Several bearking Squerrells the Musquetoos troublesome &C.

Friday 29<sup>th</sup> August 1806. a little rain. Several hunters went on with small canoes to hunt. about 10 A. M. we set out and proc<sup>d</sup> on passed the hunters. one of them had killed a deer. we Still proc<sup>d</sup> on about 3 P. M. we halted and killed Several buffaloe and deer, and proc<sup>d</sup> on untill evening and Camped on S. Side our hunters came up had killed several more buffaloe & deer. we Save all the buffaloe horns we can find to take to the States as they would make excelent k[n]ife and fork handles &C. &C.

Saturday 30<sup>th</sup> August 1806. we set out eairly and proc<sup>d</sup> on as usual ab<sup>t</sup> 9 A. M. we halted and killed one buffaloe and 2 deer. the buffaloe verry pleanty. proc<sup>d</sup> on Some distance further halted and killed two Elk and gathered a quantity of fine plumbs. then proc<sup>d</sup> on. three of our hunters Stayed back with a Small canoe to try and kill Some black taild deer. about oClock P. M. we discovered a number of Indians on the hills on the North Side, and Soon gathered about two hundred on the Shore besides Some boys and young men they were in a body and had a great number of horses we landed on the opposite side of the river. the Savages hooping and fired & we answered them by fireing our blunderbusses and small arms 2 rounds. we coneluded to wait here for the hunters to come up. a number of Indians Set to Swiming the river to us but Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark took three men in a Small canoe [and] met them on a Sand bar which happened to be near our side one of our men Spoke to them in panie [Pawnee] tongue and told them that we could not Speak their Language but Soon found that they were the Same band of Tetons that held our boat as we passed up the river Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark told them and Signed to them that they were bad Indians and treated the White people bad and they might keep from us for we would have nothing to Say to them nor Suffer them to come to our canoes. they then Signed to the rest of the nation to keep back and Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark return<sup>d</sup> the most of the Indians returned to the nation 2 or three Stayed on the bar a while and Signed that they were friends to us and wished to have us come over to their Side but we Signed to them to keep off and to go back that we would not hear them



&C. they then all returned to the band and called over to us. Mr<sup>s</sup> Jessom could understand Some words they said and [s]he heared them Say that if we came on their Side of the river they would kill us & that we were good for to kill &C. at length the Savages or the main body of them went their way our hunters came up had killed three black tailed deer. we then set out and proc<sup>d</sup> on several Indians remaining on Shore called to us and Signed and beckned to us to come to Shore but we passed them Safe and proc<sup>d</sup> on untill dark and Camped on a large sand bar two Sentinels placed to guard the Camp.

Sunday 31<sup>st</sup> August 1806. we had hard Showers of rain all last night and verry high winds caused one of our canoes broke loose and I took another canoe and to take it back and with Some difficulty goot it back to Camp a verry disagreeable night. we Set out this morning as usal and roed on hard all this day without making any halt to cook. Musquetoos, where we Camped on N. Side.<sup>1</sup>

Monday the 1<sup>st</sup> day of September 1806. a fair morning. we Set out eairly and proc<sup>d</sup> on two hunters went on with a Small canoe to hunt about 9 A. M. we pass<sup>d</sup> the m<sup>o</sup> of rapid water [Niobrara] river a Short distance below we Saw nine Indians on the N. Shore which run out of a thicket five of them had guns the others bows & arrows. they Sign<sup>d</sup> to us to put to shore but we floated a short distance below a point at an open place as we expected they were the Tetons as Soon as we halted we heard several guns fire we expecting that the Indians were firing at our hunters who were behind Cap<sup>t</sup> Clark Instantly run up with 10 men but soon returned with the Indians and found that they had been firing at a kegg we had thrown out above and our hunters came up safe. we found these to be Yanktons Nation & good Indians and friends to us our officers Smoaked with them and gave them a bushel of corn & Some ribben and then we proc<sup>d</sup> on towards evening we killed a fat Elk on an Island. in the evening we Camped on a sand beach N. Side opposite to this Camp we Counceled with the yanktons or babruleys on the last of August 1804. Some Musquetoos this evening.

Tuesday 2<sup>nd</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a fair morning. we Set out eairly and proc<sup>d</sup> on passed the mouth of River Jaque [James]. Saw gangs of Elk got Some good pipe clay about 11 A. M. the wind rose

<sup>1</sup> The camp was in southern Charles Mix County, S. Dak., a few miles above the mouth of Chouteau Creek. Clark says it was on "no preserve Island," a little below the encampment of Sept. 5, 1804.

so high a head that it detained us untill towards evening. the hunters killed two buffaloe and 2 Turkeys The Musquetoes so troublesome that we mooved down a short distance and Camped on a sand beach for the night.

Wednesday 3<sup>rd</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. we set out and proc<sup>d</sup> on as usal. the day warm & Sultry. towards evening we pass<sup>d</sup> the Calimet bluffs a Short distance below we met an American trador by the name of Herd.<sup>1</sup> he had two Batteaux and 18 hands and are on their way to the babruleys and yanktons near white Stone [Vermilion] River in order to trade with those nations and the Mahars also. M<sup>r</sup> Herd informed us of the news of the States<sup>2</sup> & C a verry hard Storm of wind and hard rain this evening.

Thursday 4<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a fair morning, but the hard rain and Thunder continued the greater part of last night. the Musquetoes troublesome. M<sup>r</sup> Herd Gave us a berril of flour although he had a boat Sunk and nearly all his provisions lost but they have a good hunter hired for that purpose a molattoe & C. we gave them a quantity of corn which the Mandans Gave us. M<sup>r</sup> Heard gave us Some tobacco & C. & C. we Set out Soon after Sunrise and proc<sup>d</sup> on verry well towards evening we arived at the Mahars village found that this nation were out a hunting but had fields of corn growing at the backpart of the bottom where they formerly had a large village but were cut off in a great measure by the Small pox Some years ago. So we Camped here<sup>3</sup> and dried our baggage which got wet last night, & C the Musquetoes verry troublesome indeed.

Friday 5<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a fair morning. we were routed at day light by the Musquetoes. we Set out and proc<sup>d</sup> on verry well without making any delay. we having made 75 miles this day and Camped on a Sand beach to git as much out of the Musquetoes as possible.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The trader was James Aird, long prominent in the fur trade of the North-west. His headquarters were at Prairie du Chien, where he died in 1819.

<sup>2</sup> In view of their two-year isolation in the wilderness it is not difficult to imagine the eagerness with which the explorers listened to the news Aird had to communicate. Among other things they learned of the duel between Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton, which had been fought in July, 1804, over two years before.

<sup>3</sup> In the vicinity of the camp of Aug. 13-20, 1804.

<sup>4</sup> Because of the freer currents of wind the mosquitoes were commonly less troublesome in such a location than when the camp was pitched on the mainland. Today's camp was a little below that of Aug. 9, 1804.

Saturday 6<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a fair morning. we Set out eairly and proceeded on about noon Saw a large flock of pillicans Some of the hunters killed three of them Shortly after we met a batteaux manned with 12 frenchman [with] a canoe in comp<sup>y</sup> this keel Boat belonged to M<sup>r</sup> Shoetoe<sup>1</sup> of S<sup>t</sup> Louis and is under charge of a frenchman and are going up to the yanktons at a wintering house below white stone river they gave us a little whiskey.<sup>2</sup> I traded for a hat and Shirt by giveing them beaver Skins. our officers purswaded them not to trade with the Tetons nation we delayed about 2 hours and proc<sup>d</sup> on. Some of the hunters Stayed back to hunt and did not join us this evening. Camped.

Sunday 7<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a pleasant morning. the party Set out eairly leaving me with my canoe to wait for the [hunters] we waited untill ab<sup>t</sup> 10 A. M. then hearing a blunderbuss fired a head as a Signal that the hunters were a head So we Set out and followed on the wind So high that we could Scarsely proceed. about 2 oClock P. M. we overtook the party who had halted to hunt as the wind was so high. the Hunters killed 4 Elk and caught three large catfish which was fat. towards evening the wind abated So that we proc<sup>d</sup> on untill after Sunset and Camped on a sand beach.<sup>3</sup> the Musketoes not So troublesome as they have been for a long time past.

Monday 8<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a fair morning. we Set out eairly and proc<sup>d</sup> on verry well Gibson killed a deer from his canoe. the logs & Sawyers are pleanty in this part of the Missourie we having made 58 miles this day Camped 12 miles above R. Platte.<sup>4</sup>

Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a fair morning. we Set out eairly and proc<sup>d</sup> on. Soon passed the mouth of River platte and proc<sup>d</sup> on verry well all day without making making any delay. having made 74 miles this day. Camped on South Side opposite bald pated prairie<sup>5</sup> the Musketoes Scarce & C.

Wednesday 10<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a fair morning. we Set out as usal, & proc<sup>d</sup> on verry well one of the hunters killed a rackoon Saw

<sup>1</sup> Auguste Chouteau.

<sup>2</sup> This was the first spirituous liquor tasted by any of the party since July 4, 1805.

<sup>3</sup> About two miles, according to Clark, below the camp of Aug. 4, 1804.

<sup>4</sup> Today's camp was on the site of the encampment of July 22-26, 1804.

<sup>5</sup> "Immediately opposit our encampment of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1804." Clark. The camp was therefore in southeastern Otoe County, Nebr., just below the southern boundary of Iowa, on the Nebraska side of the river.

a number of Turkeys about 3 P. M. we met four frenchmen with a canoe loaded with goods going up trading. they gave us a dram we then proc<sup>d</sup> on untill evening and Camped on an Island.<sup>1</sup>

Thursday 11<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. A Showery morning. we Set out and proc<sup>d</sup> on verry well untill about 11 A. M. we then halted to hunt a Short time. found pappaws and grapes in this bottom which is covred with cotten Honey Locus Seckamore timber & C. the rushes thick. Drewyer killed a large deer. we then proc<sup>d</sup> on one of the hunters killed a deer from his canoe. at dusk we Camped on a Sand beach on the N. Side.

Friday 12<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a foggy morning. we Set out as usual and proc<sup>d</sup> on about 9 A. M. we met 2 two canoes and 11 frenchman 1 of which was loaded with M<sup>r</sup> Shotoes [Chouteau's] goods from St<sup>t</sup> Louis the others going up trapping one of the men was along which accompanied us to the Mandans in 1804. he informed us that M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lanen<sup>2</sup> is but a Short distance a head below the hunters killed a bear we then proc<sup>d</sup> on Soon met one of M<sup>c</sup>Lanens Hunters who gave us a fat buck he came on board, and we proc<sup>d</sup> a Short distance and met M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lanen with a large keel Boat which [was] roed with 12 oars he was rejoiced to see us only two Englishmen besides M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lanen the rest frenchman. M<sup>r</sup> Gravveleen [Gravelines] & M<sup>r</sup> Drewyong<sup>3</sup> was with him. this keel Boat was well loaded down with Marchandizes and is going up to the Marhars and yanktons to winter their. we mooved across the the river and Camped on N. S. 2 Small canoes Sent on a head to hunt. M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lanen gave our officers wine and the party as much whiskey as we all could drink. M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lanen informed us that the people in general in the united States were concerned about us as they had heard that we were all killed then again they heard that the Spanyards had us in the mines & C. M<sup>r</sup> Gravveleen & M<sup>r</sup> Drewyong had orders to make all enquiries for us. M<sup>r</sup> Gravveleen took a chief of the Rickarees on to the Seat of government & he died their and M<sup>r</sup> Gravveleen has got the presents for his nation. M<sup>r</sup> Drewyong took Several Indians

<sup>1</sup> About four miles above the Grand Nemaha River, and a short distance above the southern boundary of Nebraska.

<sup>2</sup> Robert McClellan, whom both Lewis and Clark had known as a scout in General Wayne's campaign against the Northwestern tribes a dozen years earlier. He was now engaged in the western fur trade with headquarters at St. Louis. In the years 1811-13 he followed in the track of Lewis and Clark across the continent to Astoria. He died at St. Louis in 1815.

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Dorion, Lewis and Clark's erstwhile interpreter.

of the yanktons and Mahars down to S<sup>t</sup> Louis and as Cap<sup>t</sup> Stoddard was absent who had orders to send all Indians on they were not Sent on and are now on their return. M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lanen informed us that the Spaniards or Spain towards Mexico had broke out against the u. states United States and have killed a party of americans who went to See their country, and that all or a great number of troops had gone down to Neworleans and up red river where a great number of Spaniards have gathred in a body for war. Some of our party exchanged robes &C. for Shirts. we had Small Showers of rain this evening, and we were treated in the best manner by this party.

Saturday 13<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a fair morning. M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lanen Gave our party as much whiskey as they would drink and gave our officers three bottles of wine and we took our leave of them and Soon after Sunrise we Set out and proc<sup>d</sup> on Soon overtook the hunters who kill<sup>d</sup> nothing the wind being high and as we were out of meat we detained along at different places to hunt and killed five deer, and Camped having made but a Short distance this day.

Sunday 14<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a fair morning. we Set [out] as usal and proc<sup>d</sup> on Soon passed the old village of the Kansers. Some of the hunters kill<sup>d</sup> Several deer from their canoes about 3 oClock P. M. we discovered three keel Boats Sailing up the river. we put to Shore Spread our flags they sailed up to us and halted with us a Short time they were tradors from S<sup>t</sup> Louis and frenchman but could Some of them Speak English. they are bound for the Mahars nations. they gave us ardent spirits buiscuits and cheese &C. onion we then proc<sup>d</sup> on Gibson shot an other deer from his canoe at dark we Camped on N. Side.<sup>1</sup>

Monday 15<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a fair morning. we Set off at eight and proc<sup>d</sup> on the wind a head as usal. our hunters shot a buck Elk from their canoe on the lower point of an Isl<sup>d</sup> and was fat. we took the meat on board and proc<sup>d</sup> on towards evening the hunters Shot a buck from their canoe. we have seen about 20 deer on the shores this day we Camped at Sunset on N. Side<sup>2</sup> an emence Site of pappaws & as the men were gathering them Saw a number of rattle Snakes and killed one of them and saved the skin.

<sup>1</sup> Clark places the camp on an island in the middle of the river, below the encampment of July 1, 1801. He further notes that the party "received a dram and Sung Songs untill 11 oClock at night in the greatest harmony."

<sup>2</sup> A short distance above Hay Cabin (modern Little Blue) Creek.

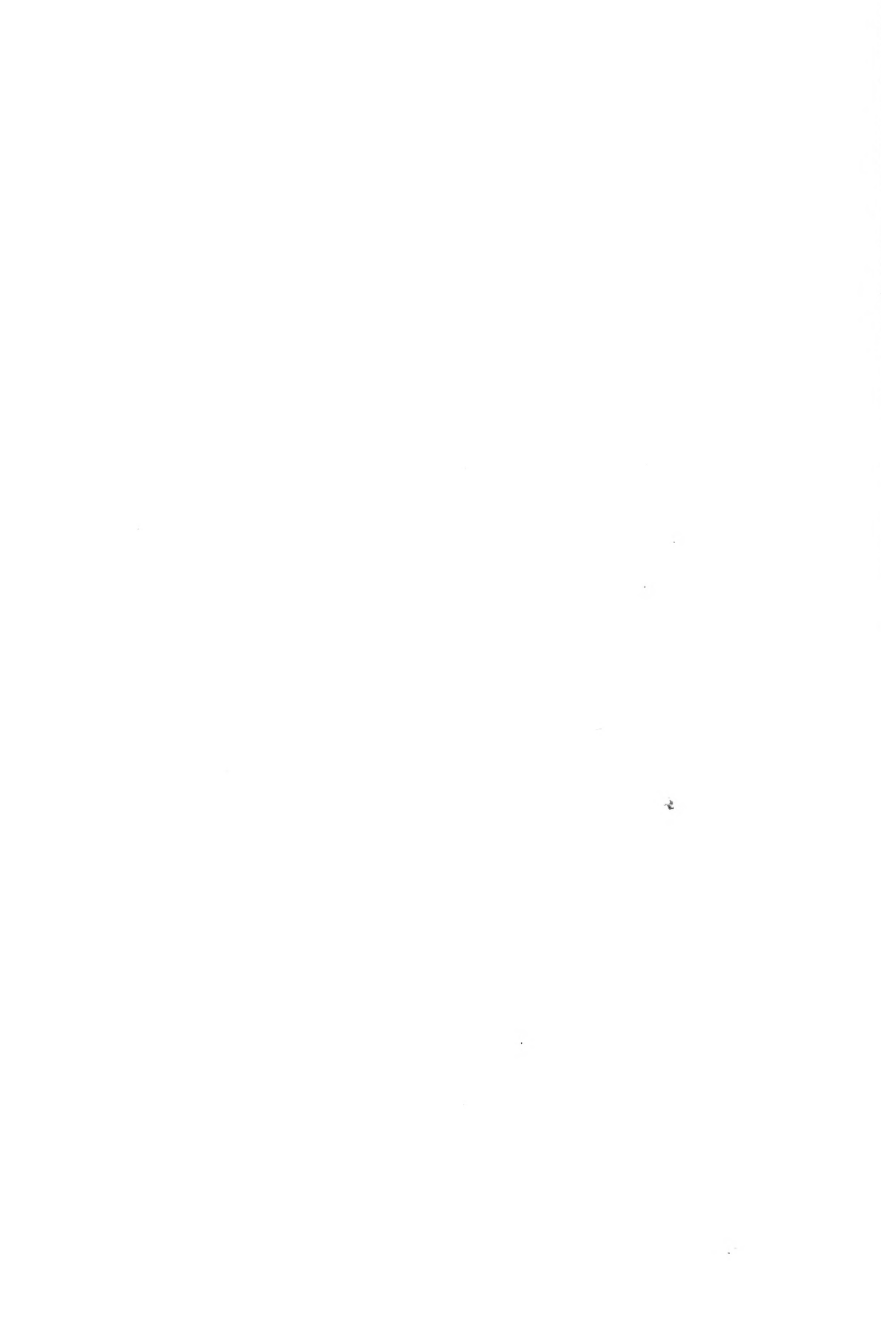
Tuesday 16<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a fair morning. we proc<sup>d</sup> on as usual Soon met eight frenchman with a perogue loaded with marchandize and bound for the Panies Nation on River platte. about noon we met a keel Boat and 2 canoes the keel Boat belonged to M<sup>r</sup> Reubode of S<sup>t</sup> Louis loaded with marchandize and bound for the Kansas Nation of Indians. this boat was under the charge of M<sup>r</sup> Reubados Son.<sup>1</sup> the 2 Canoes were going up trapping and hunting we delayed about an hour. their was about 20 frenchman in Company. our officers gave instructions to this trador after reading his passport directing them not to speak against the government of the United States to the Indians as his brothers did to the Zotoes last winter. we then proc<sup>d</sup> on the day verry warm indeed. about 3 P. M. we pass<sup>d</sup> a hunting Camp of two frenchman they came out to us with their canoe to us they informed us that an american Boat was on their way coming up Some distance below this. we proc<sup>d</sup> on untill evening and Camped on the N. Side. Saw a black bear which run [into] a thicket of bushes.

Wednesday 17<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. one of the men caught a large catfish last night which is jud[g]ed to weigh a hundred weight. a fair morning. we Set out early and proceeded on verry well soon pass<sup>d</sup> rifle Isl<sup>d</sup> and a short distance below at the petzaw Island we pass<sup>d</sup> through a verry bad part of the river which was filled so thick with logs Standing on end & Sawyers that we only found room to pass through. about 2 oClock P. M. we met a large Boat Commanded by one Cap<sup>t</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lanen<sup>2</sup> loaded down with Marchandize about 15 hands & an Intrepter & Clark [clerk]. they are bound for the Spanish country by way of River platte to the panies [Pawnee] Indians & purchase horses and cross the Mountains leaving their goods on this Side and git the Spaniards to come and bring their silver & gold and trade it for goods as they are full of money and no goods among them of any account. and if M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lanen has Success this voiage no doubt but that trade

<sup>1</sup> This was Joseph Robidoux Jr., first permanent settler of St. Joseph, Mo., where he founded a post as early as 1800 and died in 1868. Thwaites, V, 386. Clark was suspicious about his trading license, which lacked the territorial seal, and the privileges which it granted seemed to him extraordinary to be accorded so young a man.

<sup>2</sup> John McClallen, formerly a captain of artillery in the U. S. army. He was "Somewhat astonished" at sight of the explorers, and informed them they had long since been given up by the people of the United States, and "almost forgotten," although President Jefferson still had hopes of them.







will be advantageous to the United States hereafter. we aired our baggage &C. Several of our hunters Sent a head with 2 Small canoes to hunt. in the evening M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lanen gave our party as much whiskey as they would drink and we Camped.<sup>1</sup> M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lanen gave us a bag of Biscuit &C.

Thursday 18<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a clear morning. we gave M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lanen a kegg of corn. took our leave of him & his party and Set out eairly and proceeded on Soon pass<sup>d</sup> the Mouth of Grand river. Soon after we overtook our hunters they had killed nothing So we proc<sup>d</sup> on all day without detaining to hunt Saw a fiew Turkeys gathered Some pappaws which the party in general are fond of. in the evening we Camped on an Island.<sup>2</sup>

Friday 19<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a fair morning. we Set out at light and proc<sup>d</sup> on Soon passed the mouth of Mine River. Saw a number of Turkeys but we being anxious to git down do not detain to hunt. gathered Some pappaws which our party are fond of and are a kind of fruit which abound in these bottoms and are now ripe. in the afternoon one of the hunters killed a deer. late in the evening we arived at the Mouth of Osage River & Camped having made 84 miles this day.<sup>3</sup>

Saturday 20<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. as Several of the party have Sore eyes & unable to work our officers concluded to leave 2 Small canoes which was done as we had room for the men without them. we Set out eairly and proceeded on met a canoe & Several frenchman going up this R. trapping. nearly Sunset we arived in site of S<sup>t</sup> Johns or Charrette village fired three rounds and was answered by Some boatsman who who lay at this place & by the people of the village we Camped here here is 4 batteaux bound for the Mahars & other Indians our officers got 2 gallons of Whiskey for which they had to pay eight dollars an extorinatable [extortionate] price they got us some pork Beef and flour &C. the french people gave us Some milk &C. &C.

Sunday 21<sup>st</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. we Set out as at the usal time and proc<sup>d</sup> on passed the Scattering houses along the Shores met a great number of Indians in canoes mooving up the River. the people of the Settlements were makeing inquieries of us & were Surprized to See us as they Said we had been given out for dead

<sup>1</sup> In Carroll County, Mo., four miles above the mouth of Grand River.

<sup>2</sup> "nearly opposit to the enterance of Mine river." Clark.

<sup>3</sup> From the mouth of Mine River to the mouth of Osage River; the distance as shown on the M. R. C. map is about seventy miles.

above a year ago. towards evening we arived at S<sup>t</sup> Charles fired three rounds and Camped at the lower end of the Town. the people of the Town gathered on the bank and could hardly believe that it was us for they had heard and had believed that we were all dead and were forgotten. the most of the party got quarters in Town and refreshments. late in the evening hard rain commen<sup>d</sup> and continued hard during the night.

Monday 22<sup>nd</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. the hard rain continued this morning untill about 11 Oclock A. M. at which time the party was collected and we Set out & proc<sup>d</sup> on towards evening we arived at Bell fountain a Fort or cantonement on South Side which was built since we ascended the Missourie & a handsome place.<sup>1</sup> we moov<sup>d</sup> a short distance below and Camped, the Company of Artillery who lay at this fort fired 17 Rounds with the field peaces the most of our party was Quartered in the cantonment. Several flat Boats are built at this place. Some rain this evening. a number of these Soldiers are acquaintances of ours & C.

Tuesday 23<sup>rd</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1806. a wet disagreeable morning. we Set out after breakfast and proc<sup>d</sup> on Soon arived at the Mouth of the Missourie entered the Mississippi River and landed at River deboise where we wintered in 1804. here we found a widdow woman who we left here & has a plantation under tollarable good way. Since we have been on the Expedition we delayed a Short time and about 12 oClock we arived in Site of S<sup>t</sup> Louis fired three Rounds as we approached the the Town and landed oppocit the center of the Town, the people gathred on the Shore and Hiz-zared three cheers. we unloaded the canoes and carried the baggage all up to a store house in Town drew out the canoes then the party all considerable much rejoiced that we have the Expedition Completed and now we look for boarding in Town and wait for our Settlement and then we entend to return to our native homes to See our parents once more as we have been so long from them.—finis.

<sup>1</sup> Fort Bellefontaine was established in the spring of 1805, under direction of Gen. James Wilkinson. In 1826 it was abandoned as a military post in favor of Jefferson Barracks.

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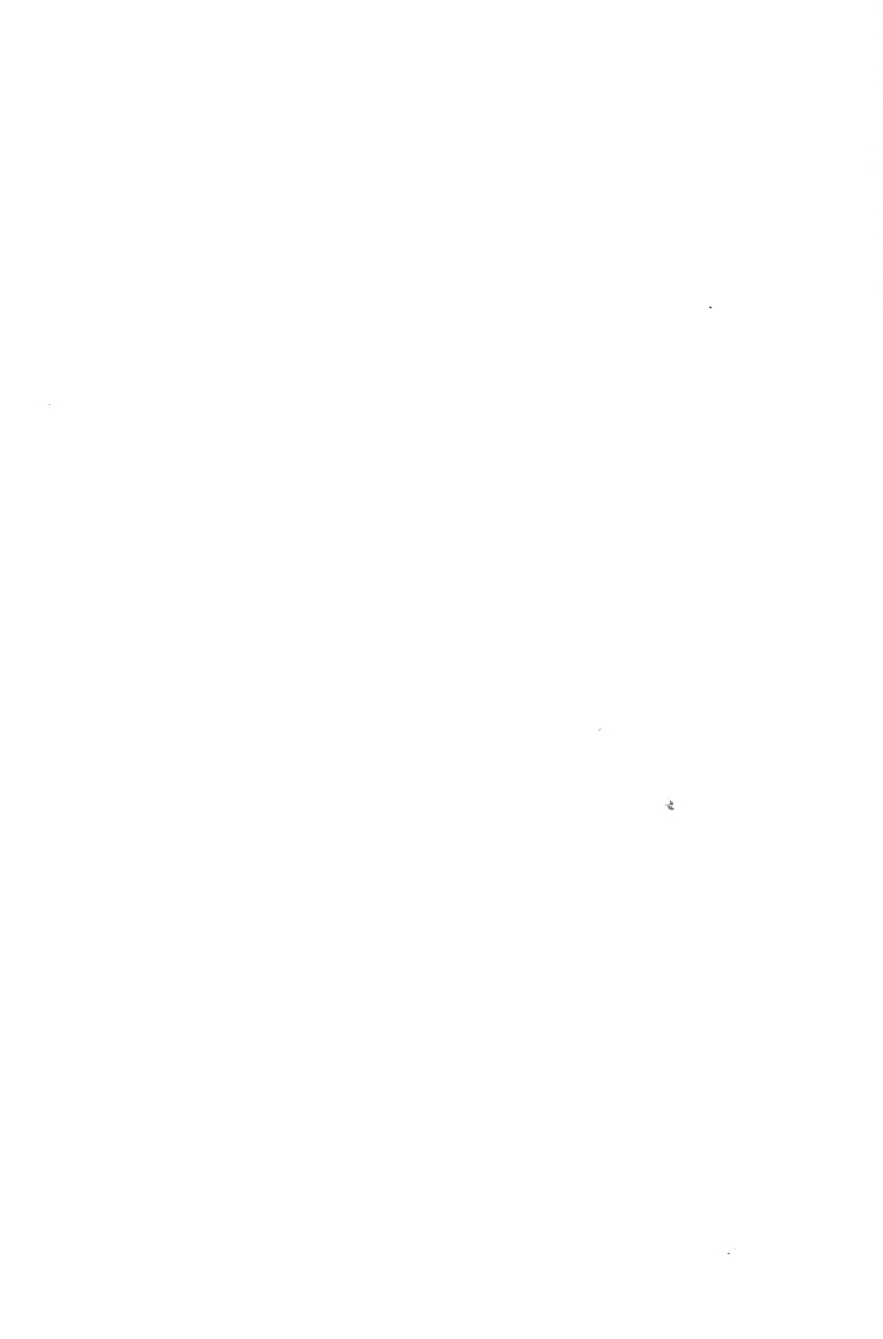
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